January 1,1957

MEMORANDUM

TO : Mr. A. Philip Randolph

FROM: Ella J.Baker

RE : Statements Being Drafted by Mr. Levison and Mr. Rustin

TWO STATEMENTS, as you know, are being drafted :

1. A comprehensive statement, emphasizing the extent to which America's unresolved racial inequalities frustrate, compromise and defeat the fulfillment of the democratic process in every aspect of the nation's social and political life.
2. A statement, dealing specifically with the NAACP and the current threats to its survival.

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I THE COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT :

Despite a high level of interest in the unresolved contradictions in our democracy, no comprehensive statement on the issues involved has been released, recently, and it seems especially timely to do so.

It is proposed that such a statement be signed by hundreds of outstanding national personages (our goal is 1000), and that it be issued as a press release in New York, and that effort be made to get local committies to issue it as a newspaper add in such cities as Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, LosAngeles, Louisville and even Atlanta.

The reason for suggesting that the statement be placed as an "ad" in other cities, is that our experience indicates that the out-of-town papers are not as ~~xxx~~ likely to give such a statement adequate news coverage.

After its initial release, it might be advisable to place the statement as an "ad" in the New York Times; and special effort should be made to have it reprinted for wide distribution by the Sidney Hillman Foundation.

The tone of the statement is indicated by the inclosed first draft; and the time of its release should be scheduled to follow the NAACP statement.

****

II THE STATEMENT ON THE N.A.A.C.P.

The NAACP Statement is considered to be urgent and should be released not later than February, during the Washington-Linclon Birthday and Brotherhood period.

It is proposed as a strong Civil Liberties document, designed to secure wide support even from many persons who may differ with the NAACP on many points, but who can not deny the threats to our civil liberties, inherent in the studied attempts to discredit and silence the NAACP.

The statement should be signed by at least 200 outstanding spokesmen for civil liberties throughout the country. The covering letter accompanying the statement should diplomatically, but clearly indicate that the lack of reaction by many organizations to the attacks upon the NAACP is, to say the least, surprising, and continued complacency bespeaks a sad lack of understanding and intelligent self-interest,

The following points of emphasis, while neither exhaustive or listed in any order of priority, seem basic to any statement on the current status of the NAACP:

1. The minority and socially impoverished status of the Negro in American life had rendered the group weaponless to protect its rights against the designs of those who through devious and sundry means have sought to deny such rights.
2. The existence of the NAACP as the defender of the rights of Negroes was the logical outgrowth of the forces inherent in the US.Constitution.
3. That by fighting to secure for Negro Americans the basic rights of our democracy, the NAACP has made great contributions to the enlargement and judicial clarification of our laws,to the benefit of the whole nation.
4. The statement should spell out the constitutional rights which the NAACP has sought to realize through the courts for one tenth of the nation:

Habeas Corpus	Art. 1, Sec. 9
Jury Trial	Art. 3, Sec. 2
Privileges and Immunity	Art. 4, Sec. 2
Free Speech	1st Amendment
Free Press	" "
Free Assembly and Action	" "
Protection against Search and Seizure Warrant required	4th Amendment

Due Process	5th Amendment
Impartial Jury & Speedy Trial	6th Amendment
Double Jeopardy	7th Amendment
Excessive Bail	8th Amendment
Aolition of Slavery	13th Amendment
Citizenship Rights for Negroes	14th Amendment
Right to Vote	15th Amendment

5. The attacks upon the NAACP imperil every organization. They open the door to the grossly undemocratic principle that an organization's philosophy is usbject to the approval of the State. Such an opinion would wipe-out minority opinion and would establish firmly that conformity of opinion is required by law, a totalitarian concept.

It is interesting to note that in the 1800's, when petitions against slavery were pouring into Congress, the House of Representatives attempted to curtail the right of petition by adopting a standing rule that "no petition, memorial resolution, or other paper praying the abolition of slavery shall be received by this House or entertained in any way whatever". This unconstitutional rule remained in force for five years. The present attempt to outlaw or hamper the NAACP is but a modern revival of this sentury-old attack.

6. Millions of Americans who have relied upon the NAACP to be the protector of the rights of the oppressed, now have the expressed duty to defend the Association when its existence is thretened becuase it carried out so effectively this function.

April 19, 1957

Dr. P. T. W. Baxter
Department of Sociology
University College of the Gold Coast
~~Achimota, Gold~~ Coast, Africa
Ghana, W. Afr.

My dear friend:

Just a word of remembrance and the hope that you, Mrs. Baxter, and my dear little friend, Timothy, are enjoying the best of health.

Well, I am back home, hard at work after a relatively pleasant and uneventful return trip. Upon arrival in New York City, I found an eager and a nipping air, although all traces of Old Man Winter's fleecy snow had disappeared.

And I need not tell you that my heart was hugely joyous to find my dear, beautiful little wife, who is confined to the house because of illness, except when the weather is quite dry, sunshiny and friendly, in good spirits. With her affectionate, lovable, but quiet manner, immediately I appeared, she assumed a perpetual but delightful position of an interrogation point. She promptly sought answers to innumerable questions about Africa and the people of that land.

Before submitting to a barrage of questions, I presented her the unique little bracelet from Mrs. Baxter and indicated that this was an expression of interest from my charming hostess. In strict accordancd with the formula of the behaviorist school of psychology; namely, stimulus and response, her eyes widened with shy smiles of appreciation and affection for Mrs. Baxter. She is always immensely humbly grateful for any manifestation of concern for her.

I, of course, under insistent cross-examination, set out upon an attempt at a description of my friendly, cordial and delightful hostess and host and, especially, my dear little friend, Timothy. She had to know, forthwith, about Timothy. When I had explained that he was a youngster of rare beauty and affection but afflicted with a minor hearing deficiency, her face and eyes promptly reflected a saddened mien of sympathy and concern, but when I assured her that he was but a little lad, she promptly recovered and predicted his ultimate attainment of hearing health.

Since our household never retires early, we talked at length about the things that intrigued her, prominent among which was the interest of your household in the celebrated Bard of Stratford-on-Avon. When I vouchsafed to her that Mr. Baxter had wooed his wife with the esoteric quality of Shakespearean tragedy and sonnets, she was all interest and inquired if the Baxters had given me a glimpse of their art of reading some of the Shakespearean scenes and sonnets, an avocation which has brought to our household profound enrichment of the spirit and the mind and a genuine sense of happiness.

Because, like most bourgeois American Negroes, she is illy knowledged about Africa, with only fragmentary and nondescript information, she needed much briefing. I sought to give her some sense of the magnitude, majesty, grace and dignity of the celebration of independence, as well as the durbar.

Since she had only heard about the sins, limitations and shortcomings of British colonialism, when I told her of the scholarship of my host on the anthropology of Africa she was a bit puzzled in trying to comprehend the interest of an Englishman in Africa, although she had the highest respect, as a result of reading about the life and work of Livingstone and Stanley, for these men of Britain.

As I pointed out to her that my host was a professional anthropologist possessing an objective and scientific spirit, with an authentic background of Oxford, as well as pragmatic research on the natives in the Bush, the whole picture began to assume proportions of rationality.

But, lest you become bored with an already too long letter, let me again say how hughly I enjoyed my stay in your household. Believe me when I observe that I not only found pleasure and profit in your value judgements and principles, ethical and well as aesthetical, in the frame of reference to character, style and quality, but was quite at home in the intellectual and spiritual climate of your home and friends.

Finally, April is here with its showers, forsythia and daffodils. It is the birth month of my wife and myself, just a few months before June, which will mark the forty-fourth year of our marriage, with prospects of many others of love and happiness to follow.

This is the month of cherry blossoms in the capital of the nation, an event which thousands of persons seek to witness. The fragilely lovely cherry blossoms, with their delicately subtle but sweet fragrance, are a veritable feast of enjoyment for hundreds of thousands of Americans and foreigners, seasonally.

It may be that I may attend the conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Tunisia in July, in which event I may go on to Kenya and other points in Africa. If I do, I shan't forget the colorful and interesting friend of yours, Mr. R. G. Tumbull. I did not only enjoy his conversational fluency but his wealth of delightful literary references and interests, nor will I forget Mr. Poguchi and your other fine friends.

Under separate cover, my wife is sending a small token of esteem to Mrs. Baxter.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

IN REPLY REFER
TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

December 5, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You will receive shortly a letter from Vice-President Nixon extending you an invitation to attend a one-day meeting sponsored by the President's Committee on Government Contracts in January 1958 in Washington, D. C.

Vice-President Nixon is Chairman of the Committee which is engaged in the promotion of equal employment opportunities regardless of race, religion, ornational origin.

Some time ago Secretary of Labor Mitchell, who is Vice Chairman, appointed me as an Observer for the Department of Labor to attend meetings of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. Since I have some staff responsibilities with the Committee in connection with the Minority Groups Program of the Department of Labor, they have requested me to present names of individuals who might be interested in attending such a meeting and I have submitted yours.

Each guest will come to Washington at his own expenses. All who attend will be guests of the Committee at a Luncheon and a Reception following the meeting. Further information will be included in your letter from the Vice President.

If it will be convenient for you to attend, I think you will find the meeting an interesting and stimulating experience.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Church

(Miss) Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant

DEC 9 REC'D

December 14, 1957.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

DearMr. Randolph:

Since you endorsed me for my appointment with the Labor Department, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed Press Release issued by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

I do hope that sometime when you come to Washington, you will let me know as my Aunt and I would be deligheted to have you to dinner.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave. N. W. Apt. 207
Washington,9, D. C.

NEWS from the U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
James P. Mitchell, Secretary

USDL-2247

FOR RELEASE: A. M. Editions
Monday, December 16, 1957

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell has announced that Miss Roberta Church has been assigned expanded staff responsibilities and will serve as Minority Groups Consultant for all Bureaus and Divisions of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Miss Church will continue to serve in her capacity as Minority Groups Consultant to the Bureau of Employment Security, as Adviser to the Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Employment and as Observer for the Department of Labor at meetings of the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Miss Church is the daughter of the late Robert R. Church, Jr. of Memphis, Tennessee. She received her B.A. and M.A. degrees from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Miss Church was appointed to the Department of Labor in August 1953.

(S-58-919)

December 17, 1957

Miss Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Employment Security
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Church:

Thank you for your letter of December 5, 1957 informing me that you have submitted my name as one of the persons to receive an invitation to attend a one-day meeting sponsored by the President's Committee on Government Contracts in January 1958 in Washington, D. C.

May I express my appreciation for your interest in having an invitation extended to me. I will be glad to attend if it is at all possible. We are engaged in a number of movements for contract changes that require a lot of time. However, I am deeply interested in the meeting.

Let me congratulate you upon the splendid work you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

December 20, 1957

Miss Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave., N. W. #207
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Roberta:

Thank you for your letter of December 14, 1957 with news release from the Department of Labor about your work.

I need not tell you that I am proud of your work and progress. You are a great credit to us. You reflect honor upon your great lamented father who I am sure wished for you just the things that are coming to you in the form achievement, prominence and service.

When I plan to be in Washington overnight, I am going to give you a ring so that I may enjoy a chat with you.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

IN REPLY REFER
TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

December 23, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am making a final review of persons whose names I submitted to attend the meeting sponsored by the President's Committee on Government Contracts in January 1958. Will you check the information requested on the enclosed card, and return it to me in the accompanying self-addressed stamped envelope immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Church

(Miss) Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant

Enclosure

DEC 26 REC'D

The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
3040 Salmon Tower Building
Eleven West Forty-second Street
New York 36, N. Y.

February 5, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
Room 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Your letter of January 4, 1957, to Dr. John O. Neustadt, a member of our Board, in which you requested a grant in behalf of the Reverend Martin Luther King, to enable him to visit India and Africa for the purpose of broadening the Reverend King's educational background on Ghandi's teachings and to study actual conditions in these countries first hand, was considered by our Board of Directors at its last meeting.

I am pleased to advise that our Board is prepared to make a grant in the amount of $4,000, intending thereby to support this trip for Mr. King himself as an important step in his education, and along the lines of the budget which you submitted to us. One of the bases on which our Board took its action, and which was a part of your proposal, was that the American Friends Service Committee would join in sponsoring this educational trip for the Reverend King and would administer the fund for such purpose. I have been in touch with Mr. Lewis Haskins of the American Friends Service Committee concerning this matter, and he advises that while there is no definite commitment on their part at this time to administer the fund he would look into the matter and advise further.

Sincerely yours,

THE CHRISTOPHER REYNOLDS FOUNDATION, INC.

By Jack Clareman
Jack Clareman - Secretary

JC:ES

February 20, 1957

Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary
The Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc.
11 West 42nd Street
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Clareman:

Thank you for your letter of February 5, 1957, informing me of the action of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation on request for grant in behalf of Reverend Martin Luther King for his visit to India and Africa to broaden his background in the teachings of Gandhi and to study conditions of the countries.

Permit me to assure you of my great appreciation and thanks for the action taken by the Foundation on the request made by myself in behalf of a number of friends of the Reverend Mr. King who are interested in the great struggle he is leading for human dignity.

We shall be pleased to have the American Friends Service Committee administer this grant in behalf of Brother King.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R/W

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

JAMES T. FARRELL
252 West 85th St.
New York 24, N. Y.

November 11, 1957

Dear Phil:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a resolution which we of the Spanish Refugee Aid committee have drafted with the hope that you might be able to get it introduced and possibly passed at the coming AFL-CIO Convention next month. If you could do this, it would be most helpful to us, and a good thing in itself.

We hope that you are well. One is always so busy that one can't see one's friends. I did run into Ben McLaurin at Histadrut and he was very gay and full of stories about his trip to Europe.

I hope to see you soon. In the meantime, my thanks, and all my best.

Cordially,

Jim

Jim Farrell

P.S: I scratched out of the resolution the word "absolute" for the following reason: Franco is as absolute as a dictator can be, but in Spain it is impossible to have an absolute dictatorship like in Russia or Germany under Hitler; Spain is not that well organized. However, it is a rotten dictatorship.
J.T.F.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

JTF:lw

November 14, 1957

Mr. James T. Farrell
252 West 85th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Jim:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of November 11, with resolution on Spanish Refugee Aid, to be presented to the Convention of the AFL-CIO.

I will be glad to give it my consideration.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R/BW

Proposed Resolution on Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc.

to the convention of the AFL-CIO - 1957

WHEREAS, Franco Spain is an ~~absolute~~ dictatorship established with the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini, and

WHEREAS, Dictator Franco drove thousands of free trade unionists and democratic Spanish people into exile to avoid the terror and oppression of his regime, and

WHEREAS, These Spanish refugees are not only victims of fascism but also of communist treachery in the struggle against Franco, and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of Spanish refugees are brother trade unionists, members of the National Confederation of Workers (C.N.T.) and the General Union of Workers (U.G.T.) which have been ruthlessly persecuted by Franco, and

WHEREAS, Today there are 160,000 Spanish refugees in France, long exiled from their native land, living out their days in poverty, disease and bitterness, and

WHEREAS, The condition of approximately 5,000 of these first valiant fighters against international Fascism is pitiable in the extreme, as they are advancing in age, gradually losing their capacity for self-support, many in want of food, clothing, medical care and appliances, or the tools with which they could piece out a self-respecting living; and

WHEREAS, Under the joint honorary chairmanship of Pablo Casals, the famous liberty-loving cellist, and Lazaro Cardenas, the former liberal president of Mexico, and with James T. Farrell as chairman, Spanish Refugee Aid has been set up with offices at 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, N.Y., and is efficiently assisting these people by gifts of money, work tools, food packages, and clothes, and by obtaining the "adoption" of individuals and families by interested Americans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations wholeheartedly approve the activities of Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., and recommend to its constituent bodies and all their members everywhere that they do whatever they can to contribute financially and by donations of goods to this urgently needed humanitarian work.

In Friendship — For Welfare Aid to Victims of Racism

40 East 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
Tel. MUrray Hill 4-5645

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St. Charles Roman Catholic Church
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Stephen Wise Free Synagogue
DR. HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
Riverside Church

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Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO
HON. STANLEY M. ISAACS
Minority Leader, New York City Council
DEAN JAMES A. PIKE
Cathedral of St. John The Divine
ALEX ROSE, President
United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Int'l Union, AFL-CIO
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State County & Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO
MISS LEONA FINESTONE
Nat'l Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice
FATHER GEORGE B. FORD
Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church
MR. LLOYD K. GARRISON
Executive Committee, Bar Association of New York
MR. HARRY GERSH
Jewish Labor Committee
REV. DONALD HARRINGTON
Community Church of New York
REV. TOMAS S. HARTEN
Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.
REV. R. H. HILDEBRAND
Bethel AME Church
MR. MORRIS IUSHEWITZ
Secretary-Treas., New York CIO Council
MR. MADISON S. JONES, JR.
National NAACP
REV. JOHN PAUL JONES
National Board, American Civil Liberties Union
JUDGE DOROTHY KENYON
Chairman, N. Y. City, Americans for Democratic Action
REV. THOMAS KILGORE, JR.
Friendship Baptist Church
FATHER JOHN LA FARGE, S.J.
Associate Editor, "America"
DR. HENRY SMITH LEIPER
Exec. Sec., Missions Council Congregational Churches
MR. MICKEY LEVINE
National Chairman. American Veterans Committee
REV. DAVID N. LICORISH
Abyssinian Baptist Church
MR. DAVID LIVINGSTON, Pres.
Dist. 65 RWDSU, AFL-CIO
REV. ALBERT J. PENNER
Broadway Congregational Church
MR. WALTER PETERSEN
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Nat'l. Pres. Women's Division Amer. Jewish Congress
C. B. POWELL, M.D.
Publisher, N. Y. Amsterdam News
MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Vice Pres. AFL-CIO
Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
MR. CLEVELAND G. ROBINSON
Sec.-Treas., Dist. 65 RWDSU AFL-CIO
MR. WILLIAM STERN
Workmen's Circle
JUDGE HAROLD A. STEVENS
Court of General Sessions
REV. GARDNER TAYLOR
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MR. SAMUEL TAPPIS
American Veterans Committee
REV. L. S. WHITE
Williams Inst. C.ME. Church
MR. NORMAN THOMAS
MR. ROWLAND WATTS
Workers Defense League
MR. WILLIAM WOLPERT
United Hebrew Trades
MR. JERRY WURF
State County & Municipal Em.

January 2, 1957.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Enclosed are drafts of the material we read to you on Saturday regarding Rev. King's trip to Africa and India.

Since Dr. Neudstadt is waiting for this information it would facilitate matters if your secretary were to get it out as quickly as possible.

It was stimulating and enjoyable to see you on Saturday and the knowledge that valuable things will result from the discussions enhances my pleasure.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Stanley

Stanley D. Levison

SDL;bm

168

January 4, 1957

Mr. Stanley D. Levison
40 East 40th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Brother Levison:

Thank you for your letter of January 2, 1957 with enclosure in the interest of Reverend King making a trip to India and Africa. I will get this letter out immediately.

It appears that I may not be able to get to Atlanta to the conference we discussed on non-violence since the conference of the Railway Labor Executives' Association involving our membership on the Pennsylvania and New Haven Railroads may extend through the tenth and I have no alternative except to be there since it is crucial to our Organization.

I will be glad to send a good strong telegram which I hope may suffice. I would like to talk to you over the telephone about this.

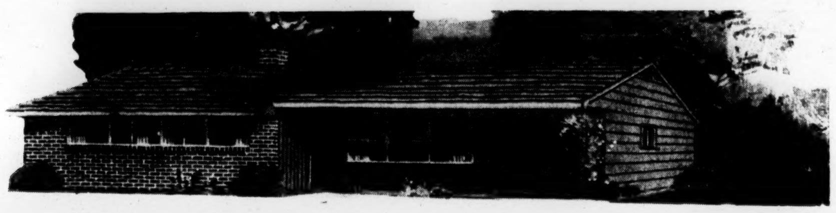
Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

ConcordPark HOMES, INC.

Mail: BOX 31, TREVOSE, PA.
Model: OLD LINCOLN HIGHWAY & STREET RD.
TREVOSE, BUCKS COUNTY, PA.



M

ELmwood 7-4325
-4356

April 25, 1957

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

A former employee of the WDL, Buford W. Posey of 946 Goodfellow Boulevard, St. Louis 12, Missouri has asked me to drop you a note in his behalf as he has applied for a job with John W. Livingston, Director of Organization, AFL-CIO.

I met Buford Posey at his home in Philadelphia, Mississippi approximately 1943. He joined the staff of the WDL and worked with us for awhile. Later his career in the labor movement was one which I am not familiar with, but which H.L. Mitchell of the National Farm Labor Union would be familiar.

The young man is one of the few white Mississippi natives who is deeply concerned with fighting jim crow. I understand that T.D. McNeal of St. Louis has been working with him lately.

With warmest personal regards, I am

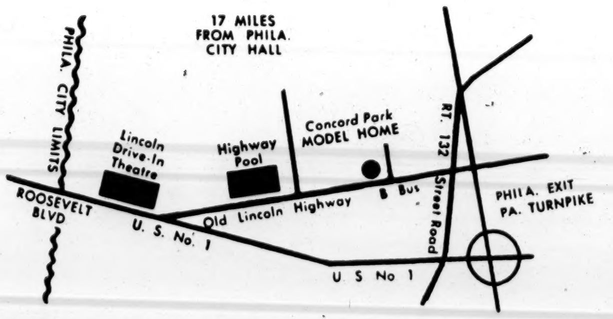
As ever,

Morris

Morris Milgram

MM:pl

APR 29 REC'D


17 MILES FROM PHILA. CITY HALL
PHILA. CITY LIMITS
Lincoln Drive-In Theatre
Highway Pool
Concord Park MODEL HOME
RT. 132 Street Road
ROOSEVELT BLVD
Old Lincoln Highway
B Bus
U. S. No. 1
U S No 1
PHILA. EXIT PA. TURNPIKE

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ROBERTA HARRINGTON
BRADSHAW SNIPES
DR. E. G. MCGRUDER

April 30, 1957

Mr. Morris Milgram
Box 31
Trevose, Pennsylvania

Dear Morris:

Thank you for your letter of April 25, concerning Buford W. Posey in connection with his serving as an organizer of the AFL-CIO.

Brother T. D. McNeal has raised this question to me and I suggested to him that when I see Brother John Livingston, Director of Organization, AFL-CIO, I will take this matter up with him.

I've watched the progress you are making in interracial housing with interest and delight.

Best wishes to you and the family.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

January 2, 1957.

Dr. John O. Neustadt
355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Md.

Dear Dr. Neustadt:

I would like to present for your consideration a project having the following purpose:

The Reverend Martin Luther King, who has applied Biblical and Ghandian concepts of non-violence in American social change, is desirous of visiting India and Africa to broaden his educational background on Ghandi's teachings and to study actual conditions first hand. The effectiveness of the trip is assured because Premier Nehru indicated to The American Friends Service Committee representatives that he wished to see Dr. King and they gave assurances that they would make every effort to arrange a trip to India. With the interest of Premier Nehru, maximum cooperation in India is assured.

The cultural and educational values and the furtherance of international amity and good will are valuable productsof such a trip. Dr. King's brilliant and responsible leadership has gained him the fullest respect of millions of Americans, both Negro and white. They would surely regard such a trip as the mission of a trusted envoy of theirs to the great people of emerging Africa and India to bring back to our country a deeper understanding of their philosophy and heritage.

An estimated budget is attached, totalling $9,668.50.

The Church of which Dr. King is pastor, The Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, or the American Friends Service Committee are willing to be recipients of the grant and to handle the financial aspects.

Your consideration is deeply appreciated by myself and my many colleagues who are greatly interested in this project.

With sincerest good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

Trip to Africa and India Based on 54 days journey for three.

TRANSPORTATION:	
1. Plane fare..round trip...$1729.50 per person, 1st class	$5128.50
2. Within nations...trains, planes, taxis, etc........$300 per person..........	900.00
HOTEL AND FOOD:	
Including entertainment, tips, and out of pocket disbursement..$20 per day per person for 54 days...........	3240.00
SPECIAL EXPENSES:	
To maintain household (Kings)....................	300.00
	$9,668.50

January 4, 1957

Dr. John O. Neustadt
355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Dr. Neustadt:

I would like to present for your consideration a project having the following purpose:

The Reverend Martin Luther King, who has applied Biblical and Ghandian concepts of non-violence in American social change, is desirous of visiting India and Africa to broaden his educational background on Ghandi's teachings and to study actual conditions first hand. The effectiveness of the trip is assured because Premier Nehru indicated to the American Friends Service Committee representatives that he wished to see Dr. King and they gave assurances that they would make every effort to arrange a trip to India. With the interest of Premier Nehru, maximum cooperation in India is assured.

The cultural and educational values and the furtherance of international amity and good will are valuable products of such a trip. Dr. King's brilliant and responsible leadership has gained him the fullest respect of millions of Americans, both Negro and white. They would surely regard such a trip as the mission of a trusted envoy of theirs to the great people of emerging Africa and India to bring back to our country a deeper understanding of their philosophy and heritage.

An estimated budget is attached, totaling $9,668.50.

The Church of which Dr. King is pastor, the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, or the American Friends Service Committee are willing to be recipients of the grant and to handle the financial aspects.

Your consideration is deeply appreciated by myself and my many colleagues who are greatly interested in this project.

With sincerest good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Trip to Africa and India Based on
54 days journey for three.

TRANSPORTATION:

1. Plane fare .. round trip...	$1,729.50 per person 1st class	$5,128.50
2. Within nations...trains, planes, taxis, etc..........	$300 per person..........	900.00

HOTEL AND FOOD:

Including entertainment, tips, and out of pocket disbursement..	$20 per day per person for 54 days............	3,240.00

SPECIAL EXPENSES:

To maintain household (Kings)........................		300.00
		$9,668.50

355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

January 5, 1957.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for your letter of January 4th outlining the project of Mr. King's trip to India. I am forwarding the material to the other members of the board of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, with whom I have already had preliminary discussion of the project. As soon as we can reach a decision, we will get in touch with you.

Sincerely,

John O Neustadt.

John O. Neustadt.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City 27.

JAN [illegible]

January 14, 1957

Dr. John O. Neustadt
355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Dr. Neustadt:

Thank you for your letter of January 5, 1957, informing me that you have sent my letter of January 4, outlining the project for Dr. King's trip to India, to the other members of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation.

I assure you we appreciate this very much.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R/BW

Civil Rights

355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

January 19, 1957.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The board of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation will be meeting next weekend to consider and take action on the project of Mr. King's proposed trip to India. Therefore you should receive definite word from the Foundation on next Monday, January 28th.

I had hoped originally that the matter might be settled more quickly and more informally. Unfortunately, however, one of the board members has been severely ill and this week is the first opportunity for full discussion of the matter.

Sincerely,

John O Neustadt

John O. Neustadt, M.D.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City 27.

February 25, 1957

Dr. John O. Neustadt
355 Rosebank Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Dr. Neustadt:

I have been informed by Mr. Jack Clareman, Secretary of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Inc., that action was taken by the Foundation upon the request for a grant in behalf of the Reverend Martin Luther King and $4,000 have been appropriated for this purpose.

I want to assure you of my great appreciation for your interest in this project and I am sure that the other friends who are working with me in the interest of the Reverend Mr. King are also grateful for your cooperation.

We shall be pleased to have the American Friends Service Committee administer this grant in behalf of Brother King.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R/BW

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

President: A. Geijer,
[illegible]

General Secretary:
J. H. OLDENBROEK

(to whom all communications
should be addressed)

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

Telephone
11.53.45 - 11.95.15 - 11.98.25

Telegrams
INTERCONFED BRUSSELS

Bankers
BANQUE DE BRUXELLES
Agence Lombard Acc. 5779

74 rue du Lombard
Brussels (Belgium)

Our ref. ES/B/md

Your ref.

5 August 1957

Mrs. Nancy Macdonald,
Executive Secretary,
Spanish Refugee Aid,
Room 421,
80 East 11th Street,
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Macdonald,

Through correspondence and personal contacts with you and through testimonials from other sources, especially from our affiliated organisation, the Unión General de Trabajadores de España (en Exilio), we have been kept informed of the humanitarian work which your organisation has been performing for the Spanish refugees. I wish to assure you that we greatly appreciate your activities.

Being aware that there is still an urgent need for relief for refugees from Franco Spain, I hope that you will find all the moral and financial support which your work deserves.

Yours sincerely,

General Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 20, 1957

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am enclosing a copy of a press release issued by the White House on August 19th.

This release was made in response to requests by White House correspondents for information as to the tenor of mail being received by the President on the subject of Civil Rights.

I thought you might like to have this for your files.

With kind regard,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb
Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Enclosure

AUG 26 REC'D

IMMEDIATE RELEASE August 19, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

- -

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS
ARE AMONG THOSE RECEIVED AT THE
WHITE HOUSE

Speaking in my capacity as an American citizen, I say that the bill in its present form is disappointingly weak. I heartily support every effort now being made to strengthen it.

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche

As Grand Exalted Ruler of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, I wish to inform you that the Order of Elks is against the Senate Civil Rights Bill in its present form. Please establish for your records our position that the bill should be vetoed in its present form. Our survey shows that a majority of the newspapers and organizations actively working in the interest of minorities are against the Senate jury trial amendment and are willing to continue to work for a civil rights measure which will be a real benefit to all Americans. I shall appreciate your continued support to our advancement and feel it will be mutually beneficial for all concerned to veto the present bill.

Robert H. Johnson, Grand Exalted Ruler
IBPOEW 906, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Am opposed to Civil Rights Bill in its present form. Have been in touch with a number of my friends. We disagree that half loaf better than none. Have waited this long for bill with meaning -- can wait a little longer.

Jackie Robinson

The long efforts to obtain a civil rights law have reached the point where the Nation's morale at home and its prestige abroad require fulfillment of these efforts. But the value of the measure will be judged by its effectiveness. May we urge you, therefore, to exert all of your great leadership at this crucial moment to obtain an improved and strengthened version of the Senate bill before the Congress adjourns. We hope both great parties will make conscientious effort to get the strongest realistic bill to your desk.

Henry Edward Schultz,
Chairman, Anti-Defamation League,
B'nai B'rith

(more)

Every one of the more than a dozen responsible Negro citizens with whom I have discussed the current Civil Rights legislation today joins me in supporting your position 100% against the jury trial amendment.

If the legislation comes to your desk in its present form we strongly urge you to veto it. Its reported acceptability to the administrative officers of the NAACP does not represent the thinking of the rank and file of its membership in this area.

Asa T. Spaulding, Vice President and
Actuary, North Carolina Mutual Life
Insurance Company, Durham,
North Carolina

Speaking on behalf of the Negro press, I sincerely urge you to exert all influence at your command to have the House of Representatives strengthen to the greatest extent possible the Civil Rights bill now pending in the House Rules Committee.

The Government of the United States cannot concede that right and wrong are merely relative to our likes and dislikes.

The struggle against racial discrimination in our country is important, both for our own sakes, and the influence of our nation in world affairs.

In this hour when Civil Rights for millions of American citizens are at stake, Mr. President, you have the responsibility of intelligent leadership.

The Negro publishers urge you to use this leadership to the end that this Congress will carry out yours and our desire, that an effective and meaningful Civil Rights bill be passed.

National Newspaper Publishers Association
William O. Walker, President

Senate Civil Rights Bill is unsatisfactory. Urge you to continue your efforts to have the House version approved.

Carl Murphy
President
Afro-American Newspapers

Thousands of right-thinking Americans commend you for the stand taken on the present lifeless so-called Civil Rights Bill. They hope you remain firm in your attitude, and you can feel assured they support your position. Even though it might mean no Civil Rights Bill in this session, we believe you would be morally honest to call a special session to get the type of bill you could sign with a clear conscience. There is no substitute for right.

Mrs. Robert L. Vann
President
The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Co.

(more)

We respectfully urge you to veto the Civil Rights Bill if and when it comes to you in its present form. The jury trial amendment makes the Bill ineffective and is in fact a signal victory for the advocates of segregation. There can be no compromise with the Constitutional guarantees as provided by the Fourteenth Amendment. There are no half citizens in a democracy. Negroes are therefore entitled to their full rights as full American citizens. After your veto, the calling of a special session of Congress to pass a more effective measure will strengthen these rights. Respectfully,

John H. Sengstacke
Publisher
Chicago Defender

National Fraternal Council of Churches of fourteen denominations and ten million members in its annual session endorsed your Civil Rights Bill. Ninety percent of colored Americans favor the bill passed by the House. Personally I would rather have no bill passed at this Congress than the one passed by the Senate.

Reverend W. H. Jernagin
Chairman
Executive Board of National
Fraternal Council

As a private individual, I urge veto of Civil Rights Bill. It is worse than no bill at all.

A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

The half million Christian Methodists of our Church, Seventh Episcopal District in particular, are backing and praying for you, as you contend for Civil Rights legislation passage, without jury trial, for all humanity. Right will win. Hold your ground.

Reverend Arthur W. Womack
Presiding Bishop
State of Georgia and West Africa,
of the Christian Methodist
Episcopal Church,
Indianapolis, Indiana

We are grateful for the courageous stand that you have taken as relates to Civil Rights Bill. Such a stand is a challenge to all citizens to exercise their influence to maximum effectiveness on behalf of good government.

We hope for a Civil Rights Bill that embodies powers that assure every citizen first class citizenship. Any bill with less than these powers deserves your veto. This means a bill which does not include the jury trial amendment. I am for the whole loaf.

Dr. George D. Flemmings
National Board of Directors, NAACP
National President of
Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity

Be it resolved that we, a body of responsible citizens in the Middle West and members of various Protestant Evangelical Churches assembled at the World Missions Institute on the campus of Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, commend you for your stand and insistence on a Civil Rights Bill which will enable every citizen to enjoy and exercise his Constitutional right to vote irrespective of race, color or national origin. We have followed with grave concern the Civil Rights Bill which the Senate finally approved. If the bill is approved by the House in its present form, we respectfully urge you to veto it.

Reverend E. Morris Egeland
General Chairman

Reverend Ellis Marshburn
Dean of the Institute

Mindful of your efforts thus far in support of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill, we, the members of the Civil Liberties League of the Improved, Benevolent and Portective Order of Elks of the World of Washington, D. C., respectfully ask that you continue tofight for passage of the original Administration Civil Rights Bill.

Charles A. Marshall
President

Andrew J. Gwathney
Director

By this you may know that I am wholeheartedly in agreement with you on your stand on the Civil Rights Bill.

Reverend A. J. Arthur
Minister
Peoples Baptist Church
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We endorse your stand for the Civil Rights Bill. We pray that you will not give in but hold to your stand under God until it is passed.

Reverend W. E. Sims
Sims Tabernacle Baptist Church
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

In support of the Administration's Civil Rights Bill we, the Pastor and 500 members of the Baptist Temple Church of Camden, NewJersey, pledge our loyal support to you and your fight for an effective bill. We are praying earnestly for you that God will bless you in this effort and your entire Administration.

Sincerely yours,

Reverend E. J. Richardson , Pastor

W. Mears, Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Vera Woods, Church Clerk

(more)

Voicing the sentiments of over 7000 members of the Progressive Baptist Church, Inc., I delight to say you deserve great commendation for the stand you have taken in advocating the passage of legislation guaranteeing first-class citizenship to all the people of our great country. We pray that God will ever give you wisdom, strength and courage to give righteous counsel to the people of our great land and the nations of the world.

Reverend T. E. Brown
Chicago, Illinois

Recalling that devotion toliberty has been a basic factor in the making of the United States of America great and strong, that our forebears established a civil society in which freedom was a primary principle of the Government and that the Congressional forebears made significant contributions of fundamental rights, freedom of press, of speech, of assembly petition and due process of law, we the members of the Plymouth Conference of Congregational Christian Churches of the Southwest, sitting in a body in Houston, Texas, this ninth day of August, do hereby strongly urge you to keep the presentCongress in session or call a special session of the Congress, as advocated by Representative Joseph Martin, Republican of Massachusetts, for the purpose of drafting a Civil Rights Bill without the jury trial.

In an effort to make the Christian Gospel more effective in our present day society the Christian Church is compelled to voice strong protest against the injustices that are heaped upon the American minority here in the South.

Mr. President, we feel that it is your solemn duty and obligation to the American people to exert your personal influence in matters pertaining to the civil liberties of all the peoples of the world, as well as that of the Office of the Presidency of these great United States.

The Plymouth Conference of
Congregational Christian Churches
of the Southwest

Your support and passage of Civil Rights Bill will be loudly proclaimed, "One Nation under God indivisible with liberty and justice for all". My prayer is that God will manifest Himself mightily that an agreement will be reached between the Senate and House for passage of Civil Rights Bill minus the amendment.

Gratefully yours,

Reverend J. C. Wade,
Pastor of Salem Baptist Church
Omaha, Nebraska

# # # # #

P. O. Box 544,
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas,
May 20th. 1957.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph,
217-- West 125th. Street,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph;-

For sometime now, I have been forwarding to you files of late local papers as promised, in order to keep you properly posted as to our development along, political, social and other lines of endeavour. But for quite sometime now, I have not heard from you. I am anxious to know as to whether or not you have been receiving them alright.

2. Well, since I last heard from you, I am happy to be able to tell you that we have made great advances along all lines of endeavour. Especially so with our tourist business which last year exceeded 150,000. And up to date this year we are far ahead of figures given for a similar period last year.

3. Economically our Colony has made marvelous strides, and more and more larger numbers of tourists are coming in to invest millions of dollars into real estate and the building of hotels and other business places. You will recall our conversation and also our desire when I was in New York last to get wealthy Negroes and others interested in investing down here, but without success. If as I said some of your wealthy New york Negroes had taken my advice, they would be already good returns on their investments. It is still not too late. You'll note by the two clippings that I am enclosing for your information of two more major projects to be carried out this summer. And these are only two of the dozens of other hotels etc. that are to be built over here. Work is now plentiful for mechanics, and skilled labourers and pay is very good. To give you a faint idea of how things are going, our Revenue for Government has jumped from a little over a million in 1953 to nearly five millions of Pounds. The Grand Bahama project alone will invest here over 40 millions of dollars, and ships as large as the Queen Elizabeth and the S. S. United States will be able to tie up at the dock. The world's largest and most powerful dredgers are now at work dredging out a channel for the ships. Cement and other factories are to be established, in addition to

a large ship building project. And with no income taxes of any kind and a good discount on all building material coming into the Colony, you will easily see why white capitalists and other millionaires are investing so very heavily in the Bahamas. Cannot you still interest men like the Austin Bros. of the Antillean Investment and Real Estate Co., in investing some money over here. I do really hate to see such marvellous opportunities go by and without any Negroes investing some of their money here.

How's Mrs. Randolph now? I do hope quite recovered from her illness. And how are you getting along in general? I am hoping splendidly. More papers are being forwarded for your information.

With all good wishes,

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Cleveland H. Reeves.

Cleveland H. Reeves.

May 24, 1957

Mr. Cleveland H. Reeves
Post Office Box 544
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas

Dear Mr. Reeves:

Thank you for your letter of May 20, with clippings concerning affairs in Nassau, with respect to our people.

I have received all of your letters and newspapers and have read them with interest and delight. I am indeed proud to note the progress being made, both in the field of our economic development and on the civil rights front.

It is obvious that Nassau is a place of great promise for persons of color to invest in property, aswell as to enjoy a vacation. It is my hope that I will come over and spend a little time next winter for a vacation. I will let you know if I find it possible to do so. I hope that some of the Negroes of financial resources in the States may take advantage of property opportunities in Nassau, otherwise white Americans will gobble up the islands.

My wife send her regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

R/BW

June 5 1957

THE LAURENTIEN
MONTREAL, CANADA

Dear [illegible]

Received letter
from the President

[illegible] you [illegible]
[illegible]
I have accepted
[illegible]
[illegible] New York
June 10 [illegible]
[illegible] matter
[illegible] leaving [illegible]

Tunisia.

If there is any expense for personal attendance on the African trip, I'll pay for them. My [illegible] emphasis [illegible] will [illegible] place this only to the AFL-CIO.

Sincerely

A. Philip Randolph

June 10, 19[illegible]7

Canadian Pacific
SPANS THE WORLD
The Canadian
en route

Dear Mrs. Miles

Kindly get me a room to Detroit leaving June 27.

Have decided as I wrote you to come to New York the 26.

(over)

You're sure I am scheduled to speak in Detroit, June 28? Suppose you check it, for if its the 29, I can't make it.

Sincerely
A. Philip Randolph,

This is a rocky road.

June 13, 1917

Canadian Pacific Hotels

HOTEL PALLISER
CALGARY, ALTA.

Dear Miss Childs,

Kindly get Dr. Bryan to give you a prescription for the medicine Clean supposed me to carry with me. Call him up & spell the name of the medicine or ask him to drop the prescription [illegible]

June 20, 1957

CORONA HOTEL
EDMONTON
CANADA

J. L. ARDERN, Manager

Dear Mr. Sides,

Wish you would call Mr. Herbert Hill of the NAACP and tell him I won't be able to speak at the Labor Dinner in Detroit, June 28, because I am scheduled to leave for Francisco July 1st for the AFL-CIO and that I am just recovering from a bad cold.

Hope you are well.

Sincerely
A. Philip Randolph

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES
INTERNATIONALER BUND FREIER GEWERKSCHAFTEN
CONFEDERACION INTERNACIONAL DE ORGANIZACIONES SINDICALES LIBRES

BOURSE DU TRAVAIL Tunis تونس دار الشغل
5 - 13 JUILLET 1957 5-13 .يوليو

July 9, 1957

Dear Miss [illegible]

Kindly call Mrs Jones at my home and ask her to come to the office and I wish you would give her $95 out of my fund you have for me to pay the rent.

Also find enclosed bill with check - Air mail for postage.

Kindly ask [illegible] Agency to provide Berths or space to [illegible] Nairobi from Rome and from Nairobi to Paris and from Paris to New York.

Sincerely,
A. Philip Randolph

CIGA
HOTEL EXCELSIOR
ROMA

July 14, 1957

Dear Mrs. Wilds

Got your cable re berths on plane.

I leave Rome today for Kenya, East Africa, then back to Paris for a Conference on Race, and then to the USA.

Weather in Africa was hot, but not too bad. But am tired now and will be glad to get back. Hope everything goes well.

Sincerely
A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE B-W 1958

Crusade For Citizenship

TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH

SPONSORED BY

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ROOM 203 — TELEPHONE: JACKSON 5-1763

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LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
DR. ARON E. HENRY
CLARKSDALE, MISS.

November 10,1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street,
New York, 27, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

An Inter-Agency Committee in Atlanta has prepared a record of the violence, intimidations and reprisals experienced by desegregation leaders in the South since 1954 and is presently seeking funds to publish these findings in pamphlet form.

It occurred to me that the AFL*CIO might consider this a good channel through which to make a contribution to the Southern struggle. So I am leaving this copy with you for your consideration and advice.

I shall be leaving for Atlanta Tuesday morning and will appreciate hearing from you at the above address.

Sincerely
Ella
Ella J. Baker

P.S. I submitted your name as one of my personal referrences in connection with an apartment application. I don't think this will be too involved and hope you don't mind.
EJB

THE FRANCHISE IS A CITIZEN'S RIGHT . . . NOT A PRIVILEGE

November 14, 1958

Miss Ella J. Baker
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ella:

Thank you for your letter of November 10, 1958 with copy of report of the violence, intimidations and reprisals experienced by desegregation leaders in the South since 1954.

I will bring this report to the attention of the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO to see if they can find some money to help publish it.

You are free to use my name at any time if it may be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Crusade For Citizenship

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SPONSORED BY

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DANIEL B. SPEED
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.
REV. R. K. YOUNG
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
DR. ARON E. HENRY
CLARKSDALE, MISS.

December 1, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil;

I am grateful for your ready response to my note of November 10th, both in respect to the report on intimidations and reprisals endured by desegregation leaders in the South and my use of your name as reference.

I hope that the Civil Rights Department of A.F.L.-C.I.O. will regard this as an opportunity to help further the struggle for human dignity and will make a meaningful contribution toward the publishing of this report.

As you know the Commission on Civil Rights is holding its first public hearing on the disabilities experienced by Negroes in Alabama in their attempts to register and vote on Monday, December 8th in Montgomery, Alabama. It is most interesting that the first such hearing should be held in the Cradle of the Old Confederacy, especially since it probably is the last site that would have been chosen ordinarily.

From talking with staff members of the Commission, it appears that Florida was thought of as being the most likely site for the first hearing, but the publicized refusal of Macon County officials to turn over their records was too much of a challenge for a Federally Constituted Agency, whatever its political bias, to ignore. So the eyes of the world will be focused on Alabama on December 8th. In the language of some of our less literate church sisters, "God works in a mischievous way", (smile).

From this vantage point, the hearing promises to be a good one. The Commission has had investigators in Alabama, and from my personal contacts and reports of others who have talked with them, they seem intent upon producing the facts. The Tuskegee Civic Association has complete records on the Macon County situation since 1951 - and good records since 1949. Affidavits of denials have been submitted from a number of other counties in the state, including at least one Black Belt, plantation dominated county. Some registrars and other county officials will be subpoenaed and the hearing may last four (4) days instead of two (2) as first conceived. Despite my weariness, it is stimulating to be a part of a new day a'borning, and I will give you the highlights when we have a chance to chat again.

I expect to be in New York for the Christmas holidays and will check with you on the response on the report then if I do not hear something before.

Regards to Miss Wilde and other staff members.

Sincerely yours,

Ella

Ella J. Baker,
Associate Director

EJB/jgf

DEC 4 REC'D

December 8, 1958

Miss Ella J. Baker
Associate Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Ella:

Thank you for your letter of December 1, 1958 with comments on the public hearing to be held by the Commission on Civil Rights to investigate the disabilities experienced by Negroes in Alabama in their attempts to register and vote.

Whether or not anything comes out of the hearing, the mere fact that a hearing was held by the Federal Government to investigate the question of Negro suffrage in the South will be immensely effective and significant. Although the Rednecks talk loud about what they will or will not do, none of them want to become involved with the Federal Government. If the Federal Government will stand firm, this situation can be cleared up.

I took a look at the report on violence in the South and it is shocking. Something will be done about this too if we wake up the country to the horrors against human dignity that exist in that area.

I hope to have a chat with you about the whole situation in the South when you are back in New York for the holidays.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

APR/b

A. Philip Randolph
International President

THE BAPTIST MINISTERS UNION
333 Nebraska Street
San Antonio 3, Tex.

Juyl 8, 1958

Gentlemen:

We have read with great care the joint statement issued by Dr. Samuel Terry, Dr. W. S. McBirnie and Dr. Clyde Childers. It is apparent that this statement was primarily addressed to the Negro people. We are of the opinion that although the position of Rev. J. H. Carruthers, as spokesman for the Negro Methodist churches, is consistent with the position of many Negroes outside of the Methodist church this is not primarily a Negro issue. This is an issue to be considered by all Christians.

We are of the opinion that there are Christians of all races and religious groups that recognize that it is impossible for a governor running for re-election to appear as an honored participant at the Billy Graham rally without political implications. There is no statement that can be made to the audience that can remove this political taint. There is now a great possibility that the supporters of Mr. Daniel will be present to give him a great ovation and thus transform a religious rally into a political rally for Daniel. We hope this will not happen but the responsibility for such must rest on the shoulders of those who support Mr. Daniel's position in the rally. The presence of Mr. Daniel is now political regardless to all the explanations regarding his invitation. You men are now in politics and you are placing those who desire to assist you in this effort - in politics. We have no objection to your participation in politics but we are of the opinion that the best interest of this meeting can be served apart from politics.

We are not of your opinin that our position will hurt the Billy Graham rally. We are of the opinion that your insistence upon Governor Daniel as an honored participant in the rally will do immeasurable damage to the cause of Christ. Every major denomination has at some meeting passed a resolution declaring the actions of the Supreme Court regarding segregation in public education as consistent with the teaching of Jesus Christ.

We are of the opinion that we are inconsistent when we pass such resolutions and then embrace and honor a segregationist like Governor Daniel in the interest of evangelism. Are the converts of this meeting to believe that a man can be a Christian while supporting issues of race hate as proposed and supported by Governor Daniel? We appeal to you to bear in mind the position of Catholic leadership in this matter, for your position can be embarrasing to every thoughtful Protestant. We believe that you are lovers of the cause of Christ, as proclaimed by Protestants, we appeal to you to weigh well your decision. We do not know what harm we shall do our cause in bringing this matter to your attention but we do know the harm that will come to the cause of Christ if your position prevails.

We understand that Dr. Graham is to hold a rally in South Africa. We are sure that many of the lost souls of South Africa would like to hear the voice of hope in the voice of Dr. Graham. Dr. Graham cannot speak to the needs of the lost souls in South Africa if he is compelled to honor a segregationist in America.

Yours truly,

SAN ANTONIO BAPTIST MINISTERS' UNION
C. Wm. Black, Jr., President

P. S. This statement was adopted in a call meeting of the Baptist Ministers' Union, July 8, 1958, with the recommendation that it be issued to all interested individuals.

cc: Dr. Samuel Terry
Dr. Clyde Childers
Dr. Billy Graham
Press

333 NEBRASKA STREET
PHONE LE. 3-7597

THE BAPTIST MINISTERS UNION
SAN ANTONIO 3, TEXAS

July 10, 1958

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Enclosed is a statement issued in regard to a Billy Graham rally to be held in San Antonio, July 25th. We are of the opinion that this is a matter of national concern because it associates a segregationist with a world-wide evangelist. We believe that it would be in the interest of our progress to study this situation with care. It is possible that what is happening here is also happening in other places in the south.

We are of the opinion that we should not join religious movements that endorse segregationists like Mr. Daniel.

It might be interesting to note that the Negro Baptist ministers and Negro Methodist ministers are together on this issue.

Yours truly,

C. Wm Black, Jr.
C. William Black, Jr.

CWB:clf

Enclosure

JUL 15 REC'D

Negro Leaders

July 17, 1958

Mr. C. William Black, Jr.
The Baptist Ministers Union
San Antonio 3, Texas

Dear Mr. Black:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of July 10, 1958, with the enclosed copy of a statement issued by The Baptist Ministers Union concerning the introduction of Billy Graham at a big public rally by Price Daniel, segregationist governor of Texas.

I want to applaud and congratulate you and the Baptist Ministers Union on your sound and constructive action. More power to you.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:mcs

Flanner House of Indianapolis

333 West 16th Street Zone 2 MElrose 5-7586

EUGENE S. PULLIAM, *President* CLEO W. BLACKBURN, *Executive Director*

May 19, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Committee of Sponsors
Modern Community Developers
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Philip Randolph:

I am very pleased to know that you are giving some leadership to Modern Community Developers, Inc. I have followed Morris Milgrim and his work for a number of years, and he has worked very hard, against terrific odds, to get going in this area. With the kind of leadership you are giving him, I am sure this business is in good hands.

I regret that I cannot be in New York on the 27th of May because of the Annual Meeting of the Board for Fundamental Education.

I want to take this opportunity, however, to express to you my deep personal appreciation for your remarks and challenge at the recent Summit Meeting in Washington. It was good seeing you again. I said to my wife, I felt that you spoke to the heart of the problem when you said, "Nobody can give us freedom, we have to win it ourselves."

May God give you strength in all of your undertakings.

Sincerely yours,

Cleo W. Blackburn

CWB/cs

59 YEARS SERVING COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT — TEACHING INDUSTRY AND INITIATIVE

June 18, 1958.

Honorable Rocco Sicilliano
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sicilliano:

I thought you might be interested in seeing a copy of a letter that I have mailed to Mr. A. Philip Randolph.

Mr. Randolph was a close personal friend of my father's and he has continued his friendship with me which I value highly.

I do not know whether you are aware of the fact that in addition to being the pioneer leader in the labor movement among colored Americans, Mr. Randolph was the main leader in the movement to have employers inaugurate "fair" employment practices which resulted in the issuance of Executive Order 8802 during World War II, the government's first effort toward providing equal employment opportunities. He has also directed his energies toward the elimination of discriminatory membership in labor unions, and the elimination of discrimination in other areas such as the armed forces, voting, housing, education etc.

He is greatly respected and cosidered an outstanding leader in the field of Civil and Human Rights not only by colored Americans, but by colored people in other parts of the world as he has traveled extensively in Asia, India and Africa where many honors have been bestowed upon him. I was Mr. Randolph's guest at a meeting and luncheon in New York when a delegation of government and business leaders from Burma and the far east who were visiting America called to pay their respects to him and present him with a token showing their esteem --- a silver statue of one of their pioneer leaders in labor and the field of human rights.

Mr. Roy Wilkins was also one of my father's friends and has been a guest at our home in Memphis. Mr. Granger also knew my father and I am acquainted with him thru the Labor Department's Minority Groups Program's cooperation with the Urban League. I have not met Dr. King, but had the pleasure of sharing the platform with his wife at a Luncheon meeting in Philadelphia.

I am glad that President Eisenhower is meeting with these gentlemen, and I feel certain that the President will find the Conference a worth while experience.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Church

(Miss) Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave. N. W. Apt. 207
Washington, 9, D.C.

6-18

Mr Randolph

After my conversation with
Mr. Siciliano this morning
I decided to write him
the enclosed letter.

Roberta

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

June 18, 1958.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th St.
New York, 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I talked with the Honorable Rocco Sicilliano at a meeting today and told him that I was glad to learn that President Eisenhower planned to meet with you, Dr. Martin Luther King, Mr. Roy Wilkins and Mr. Lester Granger.

I told Mr. Sicilliano that you were a close personal friend of my father's, and that I thought he would be interested in your point of view as you were our pioneer leader in the labor movement. I also said that you were among the friends of my father who recommended me for my appointment and I was proud of your recommendation, for in my opinion, you were our foremost leader in labor and civil rights and were respected and held in high esteem not only by colored Americans but also by colored people in various parts of the world.

I thought you might be interested in knowing that Mr. Sicilliano and I were appointed by the Administration to the Department of Labor about the same time in 1953. He was appointed Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of Employment and Manpower and was instrumental in obtaining a promotion for me making me a Special Consultant to him in addition to my regular responsibilities. I have worked directly with him and have found him to be an able and conscientious young man, who is fair in his judgement, and who hasa sincere interest in problems and activities affecting minority groups. He addressed the first Conference I called at the Labor Department in 1955 (you will recall that I sent you this material) on the Employment Of Minority Groups, and gave encouragement and support to the goals we aimed to achieve.

You will probably meet Mr. Sicilliano when you call at the White House as he is one of the Special Assistants to the President, and he told me he talked with you over the phone regarding the meeting with President Eisenhower.

I hope that you are enjoying the best of health.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave. N. W. Apt. 207
Washington,9, D.C.

IN REPLY REFER
TO EMC

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

October 15, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Since you asked me to send you copies of speeches I make from time to time, enclosed find a copy of a talk I made last Saturday in Newark at the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

In addition to paying tribute to achievements of Negro women, I tried to mention achievements of all women and also to emphasize the things all people have in common, as well as to suggest how women's organizations can effectively make themselves heard and mould public opinion.

I should appreciate any comments you may care to make.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant

Enclosure

October 21, 1958

Ref: EMC

Miss Roberta Church
Minority Groups Consultant
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Employment Security
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Roberta:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of October 15th with copy of your talk before theNational Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs in Newark, New Jersey.

I was glad to get a copy of your speech. Your organization of statistics and development of historical background of the subject are quite illuminating and impressive.

I assume you send excerpts of your talks from time to time to the Negro press. I would suggest you do that because of its educational value.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

R/BW

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This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AUGUST 14, 1958=

THE PRESIDENT=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR GREAT AND STATESMANLIKE ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY.=

IT WAS A RINGING CALL FOR PEACE AND GOODWILL AMONG MANKIND.=

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH=
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT=
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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RUQ 1 CHG B.HOOD SCP= N.L.= SEPT 29.58=
PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER= THE WHITE HOUSE=
= WASHINGTON D.C.:

= IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS I HAVE THE HONOR TO EXPRESS COMMENDATION UPON YOUR CLEAR,FORTHRIGHT AND MORALLY SOUND LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE OF CHHARLOTTESVILLE VIRGINIA SCHOOLS= I AM CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXPRESSED VIEWS WILL MEAN MUCH IN CLARIFYING THE WHOLE ATMOSPHERE ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION AND GIVE HOPE AND FAITH TO ALL CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS, WHITE AND BLACK, IN THE AMERICAN CREED FOR EQUALITY, JUSTICE AND HUMAN BROTHERHOOD..

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH. INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT..

ROBERT H. JOHNSON
Grand Exalted Ruler
906 S. Broad St.
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

WILLIAM C. HUESTON
Grand Secretary
1915 14th St. N.W.
Washington, D. C.

JAMES T. COPPER
Asst. Gr. Secretary
4141 Indiana Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

PERRY JACKSON
Grand Treasurer
3296 E. 137th Street
Cleveland, Ohio

B. V. GREGORY, Grand Esteemed Leading Knight
287 Hague St., Detroit, Mich.
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131 S. 7th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
REV. K. P. BATTLE, Grand Esteemed Lecturing Knight
814 Raleigh St., Rocky Mount, N. C.
HERBERT K. WILSON, Grand Recorder
144-20 109th Ave., Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.
WILLIAM MELVIN, Grand Tiler
94 Orient Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
HUBERT BROWN, Grand Inner Guard
27 Madison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
HUBERT FERNANDERS, Grand Esquire
175 Goff St., New Haven, Conn.
PERRY W. HOWARD, Grand Legal Advisor
613 F. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
JOHN T. FREEMAN, Grand Trustee
1319 N. 57th St., Philadelphia 31, Penna.
DR. L. W. WILLIAMS, Grand Trustee
Box 83, Valdosta, Ga.
JAMES H. FULTZ, Grand Trustee
19 Quitman St., Newark, N. J.
FRED GRANT, Grand Trustee
707 S. Monument Ave., Hamilton, Ohio
QUINN R. BANKS, Grand Trustee
102 N. Lincoln Avenue, Washington, Pa.
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5527 2nd St. N.W., Washington, D. C.
I. MAJOR STRYKER, Grand Organist
32 Clay St., Princeton N. J.
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1241 N. 56th St., Philadelphia, Penna.
J. B. YEARWOOD, Grand Auditor
2427 7th Ave., New York, N. Y.
JOHN B. COOPER, Grand Auditor
5838 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH F. SIMMONS, Grand Auditor
1004 Berkley Ave., Berkley-Norfolk, Va.
GEORGE W. LEE, Commissioner of Education
390 Beale St., Memphis, Tenn.
HOBSON R. REYNOLDS, Gr. Com. of Civil Liberties
1522 N. 16th St., Philadelphia, Penna.
CHARLES P. McCLANE, Dir. of Public Relations
221 N. Second St., Steelton, Penna.
DR. MILTON S. J. WRIGHT, Director of Economics
Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio
A. WILLIAM HILL, Grand Director of Youth Activities
451 S. Duke St., Lancaster, Penna.
JOHN C. MINKINS, Grand Reporter
Box 660 Providence, R. I.

Improved
Benevolent
and
Protective Order
of Elks
of the World

Office of
ROBERT H. JOHNSON
Grand Exalted Ruler
906 South Broad Street
KIngsley 5-7221
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

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333 Granville St., W. Grand Rapids Mich.
DR. CARTER L. MARSHALL, Grand Medical Director
1481 Chapel St., New Haven Conn.
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3024 Park Place N.W., Washington, D. C.
DR. ADOLPHUS ANDERSON, Gr. Dir. of Veterans Affairs
226 N. 52nd St. Philadelphia, Penna.
INSPECTOR HARVEY ALSTON, Gr. Comm. of Police
1893 Greenway, Columbus, Ohio
LLOYD Q. GARRIEST, Commissioner of Transportation
5816 Vine St., Philadelphia, Penna.
LOUIS M. LANE, Director of Athletics
3708 Stockton St., Detroit, Mich.

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614 S. Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.
ALBERT A. BETHUNE, Southern States and Bahamas
P. O. Box 326, Daytona Beach, Fla.
HENRY W. DAVIS, Pacific and Western States
667 E. 46th Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
THOMAS ENGLISH, Mid-Western States
6611 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.
OSCAR PRICE, Eastern States
2523 Centre Ave., Pittsburgh, Penna.

DR. SIMPSON A. SMITH, Director of Awards
1645 Ninth Ave., Huntington, W. Va.
DR. CHARLES H. WESLEY, Grand Historian
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio
P. M. BLAIR, Gr. Dir. of Bathing Beauty Contest
1316 S. Hall St., Montgomery Ala.
DR. J. B. MARTIN, Chairman of Publishing Board
412 E. 47th St., Chicago, Ill.
CHARLES H. DONOWAY, Lt. General of Antlered Guard
1033 Baltic Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
CLIFFORD W. JONES, Maj. General of Antlered Guard
Eastern Division
708 Townsend Place, Wilmington, Delaware
ROY BARNETT, Maj. General of Antlered Guard
Western Division
5835 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
EARL BROWN, Maj. General of Antlered Guard
Southern Division
124 East 9th St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
J. AMOS HARRIS, Grand Inspector
247 S. Warnock Street, Philadelphia, Penna.

May 5, 1958.

Mr.A.Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Committee of Sponsors
Modern Community Developers
84 Nassau Street,
Princeton,N.J.

Dear Mr.Randolph:

I regret very much that it will be impossible for me to attend the founding dinner of Modern Community Developers, honoring Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson, on Tuesday May 27th, 1958 at the Hotel Savoy Plaza in New York., because our Pennsylvania State Association Convention will be held May 23rd -27th at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, and I will be there,, and on the 27th, which happens to be my Birthday, they are honoring me with a party.

Trusting that your affair will be most successful, and assuring you that I am very much interested in ending housing segregation,and I will be very glad to serve on the Committee, I am

Fraternally and sincerely yours,

Robert H. Johnson,Grand Exalted Ruler
I.B.P.O.E. of W.

June 16, 1958

Mr. Robert H. Johnson, Grand Exalted Ruler
I.B.P.O.E.
906 South Broad Street
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Randolph has shown me your letter to him accepting as a sponsor of our founding dinner. By this time you will have received a program of the dinner, and a report on its success.

I am taking the liberty of sending you at this time a copy of the confidential memorandum which describes Modern Community Developers in some detail, thinking that you might be interested in making a stock subscription. Investment is at this point our greatest need, as we are unable to begin actual operations until a quarter million dollars is on hand. The major portion of that figure is already subscribed. I hope you are in a position to join in our work at this time, or that you will pass the word on to others.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Milgram

MM/ems
encl.

84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey
May 26, 1958

CONFIDENTIAL: This memorandum is for the use of members of the organizing group only and must not be used for outside solicitation of capital funds. The securities herein referred to are not being publicly offered at present.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC. is a business venture with a social goal; the development of private housing without discrimination based on race or creed. Racially integrated private housing is practical on a commercial basis today. A study* soon to be published by the Commission on Race and Housing has found over 50 interracial developments of privately built new housing throughout the nation. Well over half were built commercially; many of these have returned a good profit to their developers. Further, the study found that the number of such developments established each year has increased consistently for the past few years; in addition, a growing number of individuals and groups have expressed interest in undertaking open occupancy housing in their own communities. A high proportion of these, however, have also expressed a need for information and assistance to overcome the unique problems of site selection, financing, and marketing associated with this approach in the face of today's predominantly segregated pattern.

Modern Community Developers is a commercial response to these needs for information and assistance. It aims, on a solid business basis, to accelerate the trend toward integrated housing through the use of a corporate structure financed by the sale of $1,500,000 common stock to persons concerned with advancing a social goal while investing their funds. MCD will make available to building groups the knowledge and practical experience of successful developers of integrated housing. Where a project appears to be socially and economically sound, but local financing sources are timid, the Corporation can provide the additional equity investment necessary.

HOW MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS IS BEING SET UP

MCD is a commercial rather than a non-profit venture because of a belief that integrated housing can succeed on a wide basis only if it repeatedly is shown to be commercially practical. Accordingly, stock subscriptions to MCD are invited as investments. Fifteen thousand shares of common stock are to be issued at $100 per share. Stock is non-assessable; each share has full voting rights and equal dividend rights, and is non-convertible. There are no special restrictions, preference, preemptive, or liquidation rights; all shares, when issued, shall be fully paid. Compensation for executive officers will be determined by the Board.

---

* Grier, Eunice and George. Privately Developed Interracial Housing. Commission on Race and Housing, Berkeley, California. To be published in 1958.

The Corporation will not commence regular business operations until $250,000 has been subscribed. If the $250,000 is not reached by December 31, 1958, subscribers have the right to request the return of 90% of their subscriptions. To date written subscriptions of $145,000 have been received, the first subscription being one of $25,000 from Kivie Kaplan, Boston industrialist who is co-chairman of the NAACP's Life Membership Committee. The minimum subscription being accepted is $2,500.

HOW WILL MCD OPERATE

MCD will lend to builders of integrated housing, both private groups and cooperatives, a portion of the capital they need, usually between $25,000 to $50,000, but in no case more than 20% of MCD's capitalization on good security, such as land, etc. Concurrently, MCD would enter into management contracts whereby such builders are advised on problems of building, sales, community relations, securing of risk capital, permanent mortgages and construction loans. MCD's fee would be a share of the profit before taxes. From the experience of builders of integrated housing a reasonable return on invested capital seems likely for this $1,500,000 corporation.

MANAGEMENT OF MCD

The president of MCD is a builder, Morris Milgram, organizer with George E. Otto of Concord Park, an interracial community of 139 houses in the $12,000-$16,000 range in suburban Philadelphia. Concord's $110,000 investment was returned in 3 1/2 years. The majority of investors, satisfied with the profits, have reinvested in integrated housing under the same leadership. Concord Park was followed by Greenbelt Knoll, a 19-house award-winning tract in the $20,000-$35,000 range, in Philadelphia, where Milgram lives. Construction in Princeton, N. J., has begun with 19 houses in the $17,000-$35,000 range already sold. This record of social and financial achievement has encouraged other groups to undertake similar communities in various parts of the country, and Mr. Milgram has repeatedly been called upon to help these groups avoid errors and achieve fine integrated communities. During the past year he has visited twenty cities in which groups are working to develop integrated housing.

The secretary of MCD is Henry S. Broad, Princeton, N. J. The treasurer of MCD is Dean Chamberlin, New York, N. Y., who is also on the Board of MCD. National Counsel is White, Williams and Scott, Land Title Bldg., Phila., Pa.

The Board of MCD, now in formation, includes:

MORRIS MILGRAM, Philadelphia, Pa. Executive vice-president, Concord Park Homes, Inc., Greenbelt Knoll, Inc., Princeton Housing Associates, Inc., and Prospect Construction Corp. Walter White award of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 1956; Sidney Hillman lecturer, University of Minnesota, 1958. Articles about his work have appeared in many national periodicals, including Coronet, Presbyterian Life, New York Times, Commonweal, House & Home, and Ebony. He will gradually give full time as MCD's president as the capital is raised.

FRANK C. MONTERO, New York, N. Y. Former associate executive director, National Urban League, who will work full time as MCD's vice-president, when the quarter million dollar subscription figure is reached.

BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON, Princeton, N. J. Pastor, Witherspoon Street Presbyterian Church; board, Princeton Housing Associates; Board of Pensions, Presbyterian Church; moderator, Presbytery of New Brunswick.

DEAN CHAMBERLIN, New York, N. Y. Retired CPA; former business manager, Circulation Dept., TIME, Inc.

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, Cambridge, Mass. Physicist, Harvard University.

MAX DELSON, New Rochelle, N. Y. Attorney, National Board NAACP; counsel, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

MORTON S. GROSSMAN, Quincy, Mass. Partner of L. Grossman Sons, largest New England building materials dealers, and a director of two banks.

WILLIAM HOOPER, Yellowsprings, Ohio. President, Porter Construction Co., builders of interracial housing.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, Chicago, Ill. Economist; chairman, Independent Voters of Illinois.

JACKIE ROBINSON, New York, N. Y. Co-chairman of the NAACP's Life Membership Committee; vice-president, Chock Full O' Nuts.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE, Princeton, N. J. Director, Bach Aria Group; board, New York City Centre.

DAVID H. SCULL, Annandale, Va. President, Turnpike Press; board of directors, Nationwide Insurance Company; chairman, Baltimore Friends Social Order Committee; past president, Rochdale Cooperative, Inc., Virginia.

MARIETTA TREE, New York, N. Y. Noted civic leader; board member, International Rescue Committee; trustee, National Urban League.

STUART E. WALLACE, Trevose, Pa. Sales Manager, Princeton Housing Assoc. and Concord Assoc.; real estate broker, Friends Suburban Housing; board, Princeton Housing Assoc. and Prospect Construction Corp.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC.

FOUNDING DINNER

IN HONOR OF

KIVIE KAPLAN

AND

JACKIE ROBINSON

Tuesday, May twenty-seventh
Nineteen hundred fifty-eight

HOTEL SAVOY PLAZA
NEW YORK CITY

Residential segregation remains one of the last major barriers to full equality and tends to nullify the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in education. Building open occupancy housing is one way of ending housing segregation.

Open occupancy housing is practical on a commercial basis today. A study by George and Eunice Grier, soon to be published by the Commission on Race and Housing, found over fifty interracial developments of privately built new housing throughout the nation. Many of these have returned a good profit.

Based on the specific experience of Concord Park, Greenbelt Knoll, and other developments in the Philadelphia and Princeton areas, Modern Community Developers, Inc. has been established to provide a nationwide finance and advisory service for the growing number of individuals and groups interested in building integrated housing.

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KIVIE KAPLAN AND JACKIE ROBINSON

Tuesday, May the twenty-seventh
nineteen hundred and fifty-eight
at seven o'clock

Hotel Savoy Plaza
Fifth Avenue at Fifty-eighth Street
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Reception at 6:00 p.m.

Residential segregation is the hard fact which obstructs the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in education. One way of ending residential segregation is building open occupancy housing.

A study soon to be published by the Commission on Race and Housing of more than 50 open occupancy developments in the last few years, half of them built by private enterprise, shows that this field is growing and is a logical place for private endeavor.

Based on the specific experience of Concord Park, Greenbelt Knoll, and other developments in the Philadelphia and Princeton areas, Modern Community Developers, Inc. has been established to provide a nationwide finance and advisory service for groups desiring to build integrated housing.

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KIVIE KAPLAN JACKIE ROBINSON

Senator Proximire will make these presentations.

Scrolls of Honor

ALGERNON D. BLACK MARIETTA TREE

DAVID H. SCULL ROBERT C. WEAVER

JOHN A. McDERMOTT, Secretary
Catholic Housing Council of Philadelphia,
will make these presentations.

Color slides of integrated housing will be shown.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

AMherst 3-3970

July 18, 1958.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Thanks for your very kind letter of July 9th with enclosed statement to be submitted to the President concerning the suggested White House conference.

First, let me say that I am very much impressed with the statement and I think it should be submitted to the President as soon as possible. I would suggest that you get the consent of Lester and Roy and then proceed.

I have just heard from Lester concerning an idea that he has with reference to a follow up of our conference with the President. I think it is a good idea and if you have not discussed it with him, I hope you will find time to do so.

I am also impressed with the idea of having a public forum concerning the White House conference. This, I think, would be very helpful. It would give us an opportunity to clear up many false impressions that have gotten out concerning the conference, and will also give us an opportunity to touch many other vital issues.

I plan to leave the city tomorrow for a brief vacation in Mexico. However, I will be back in Montgomery around the 3rd of August. Almost any time after that, I will be free to meet with the three of you in New York. Please discuss this with Roy and Lester and contact me concerning the results. I will be sending my itinerary to Bayard and Stanley and they will know where to contact me in Mexico.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,
Martin L King Jr
Martin Luther King, Jr

MLK:p

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

JUL 21 REC'D

August 19, 1958

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Reverendd King:

Thank you for your letter of July 18, 1958 expressing your agreement to the suggestion that a letter be submitted to the President as a follow-up of our conference to urge the calling of a national White House conference on the integration of schools. I also note your approval of holding a public forum concerning the conference.

I have talked with Lester and Roy about these two ideas and neither one was enthused about the public forum suggestion.

Lester suggested that I write the President individually and I did this since it was not convenient to contact all of the members of the committee to get them to agree to a common letter. I am herewith enclosing copy of the letter that was sent to the President. I have received a call from the White House indicating that it will receive attention and consideration.

May I say that Lester suggested that he would undertake to arrange a meeting with some of the President's advisors, with a view to discussing details concerning some of the proposals. I think this is a good idea and so does Roy. Both Roy and myself have suggested to Lester that he proceed with his plan.

We will keep you informed of developments.

Sincerely yours,

APR/b

A. Philip Randolph
International President

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

KU01 - CHG BSCP - Oct 23 '58

REV. MARTIN L. KING= 1281 PRESIDENT STREET= BROOKLYN N.Y.

,= LEARNED THAT YOU ARE WELL ENOUGH TO LEAVE= OUR PRAYERS WILL GO WITH YOU= WE WISH YOU GODSPEED AND A COMPLETE RECOVERY= A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Ave. Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.

Amhurst 3-3970

October 23, 1958

Thank you so much for the kind message you sent to me in connection with the unfortunate incident I experienced in New York.

Your genuine concern and moral support are a great spiritual lift to me and are of inestimable value in giving me the courage and strength to face the ordeal of this trying period.

Your thoughtful, considerate gesture will remain dear to me as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen.

I am well on the road to a complete recovery and solicit your prayers and continued good wishes as I prepare to rejoin the ranks of those who are working tirelessly and ceaselessly for the realization of the ideals of Freedom, Brotherhood and Human Dignity.

Sincerely yours,

MLK:p

Martin Luther King, Jr.

THE FOLLOWING 2 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

AMherst 3-3970

November 8, 1958

Dear Brother Randolph:

Words are inadequate for me to express my appreciation to you for the many gracious things you did for me during my illness. From the moment you came in my hospital room on that dreadful Saturday afternoon to the moment I left New York City you proved to be a real source of consolation to me. Your encouraging words and your great gestures of good will served as a great spiritual lift for me and were of inestimable value in giving me the courage and strength to face the ordeal of that trying period. I can assure you that I will remember all of these things so long as the cords of memory shall lengthen.

I am happy to say that I am doing very well now and making steady progress toward a complete recovery. The doctors have requested that I convalesce for another three or four weeks and that I intend to do. As soon as this period is over I hope to plunge right back into the struggle which is so dear to my heart.

I just finished reading in the Ebony Magazine the magnificent article on your illustrious career. It was a real inspiration to read it. I certainly hope that it will go into thousands and even millions of homes in our nation. It expresses what I have said all along. You are truly the Dean of Negro leaders. If I had to choose the ten greatest persons in America today, I would certainly include you on my list. Your life and your dedication ~~has~~ have served as a real inspiration to me and to thousands of others.

I don't know if you have ever considered writing an autobiography. I certainly hope you will. What you have done and what you have achieved should be placed in a document for generations yet unborn to read and meditate upon. I know your schedule is extremely heavy and this would take a good deal of time, but I am sure that you could get the necessary help from capable persons who would lighten the load for you.

Again, let me thank you for your genuine good will and great moral support. I intended calling you before leaving New York, but things began to stack up so that I found it impossible. I will definitely talk with you when I am in that area again.

With best wishes and warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin L. King, Jr.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

[redacted]

November 19, 1958

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Brother King:

Just a word of remembrance and to hope that you are improving steadily toward complete recovery from your illness. You may be assured that you have the prayers and the best wishes of not only your friends here, but the public generally, for your return to your normal health. I need not tell you that all of us have been greatly strengthened spiritually by your recovery. I am glad that you are following the advice of your doctors relative to convalescence, for after an ordeal such as the one through which you have just passed complete recovery is slow.

May I express my appreciation for your kind comments on the article in Ebony Magazine concerning my work. I am glad you liked it. I thought it was written with dignity and ability. Relative to my autobiography, I have been working on an autobiography and will continue to work on it until I finish it, but writing is not easy, especially when one has a full-time job.

I would like to offer my congratulations upon your magnificent book, Stride toward Freedom. It came at a timely hour in the struggle of Negroes toward freedom; it is a deep source of inspiration to Negro youth in particular, and the race as a whole. I am greatly impressed by the clarity of your exposition of the doctrine of non-violence as an instrument of racial policy in meeting the problems that face us. In fact, the non-violent methodology has proven to be sound and effective in the heart of the South, under your able and courageous direction. In the long and short run, non-violent, good-will, direct action requires more basic courage than is required in the use of violence, either of the deed or of the word.

May I also say that I was happy to participate with a group of your friends in getting together some funds for your convalescence. In doing this, we were not only helping you, but the great cause of human dignity.

Kindly remember me to Mrs. King and the brothers and sisters who are working with you in Montgomery and the South.

With every good wish, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

December 31, 1958

Dear Mr. Dubinsky:

I have long known of and warmly respected your deep concern for civil rights.

Two years ago, following the successful Montgomery Bus Protest, we were forced to organize for combating a tenacious enemy. Negro leaders in over one hundred cities in 12 states have created and maintained a regional organization with an office in Atlanta -- the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

You, with your background and achievements in the labor movement, will well understand the encouragement and confidence such an organization brings to those on an active firing line. We have been living with risks to our lives, homes, churches as daily threats and realities. Many of our colleagues have faced similar threats and attacks to their synagogues.

Apart from this important purpose of uniting for strength, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference hopes to educate its forces for nonviolent struggle to achieve integration in transportation, schools, employments, etc. It further has undertaken to organize and educate through churches, trade unions, fraternal and civic societies the Negro masses for the immensely important task of winning the franchise in the South. We are keenly aware that in this effort we can make a contribution to the nation as a whole, for from our states all too often have come the viciously reactionary Congressmen and Senators bringing into Congress anti-labor, anti-semitic, indeed, anti-democratic concepts of every kind. An enfranchised Negro people, joined with decent-minded southern white people, who exist but are presently silenced, can permanently retire these dangerous elements from public life.

I am sure you will understand the need for financial support which this young but vigorous organization confronts. We have raised from our southern constituents many thousands of dollars to keep us going. To expand our educational work in difficult and decisive areas, we need assistance and hope your socially-conscious organization will lend that support to us.

It is a noteworthy feature of our organization that from its inception all of its members recognized the community of interests of labor and the Negro objectives.In our ranks there is no confusion and no soil on which anti-labor propaganda can flourish. We have on our executive committee and working committees a number of southern staff trade union representatives. Mr. Theodore Brown, administrative assistant to Mr. George Meany, has met with our executive committee as an observer, and he has personally given assistance to me over a long period of time. We are constantly in touch with Mr. A. Philip Randolph for his advice and counsel, and as you may know, he inspired the creation of our organization. To us he is the dean of American Negro leaders.

I have written to you seeking to convey information I felt would aid you in a judgement. In many quarters an erroneous impression exists that our situation is relatively calm. This is unfortunately, far from the truth. We are under constant physical threats, we faced multitudinous tasks of desperate importance, the achievement of which exceeds our limited resources. We must train our own people in methods of organization, and in a philosophy of determined struggle without violence. We know our struggle is watched by the nation and the world. To attempt to meet these vital responsibilities is overwhelming to us. Can you help us through these difficult days which mean so much to the future of our nation and our people. Early in February, we are planning a major voting drive and your response can help to determine its dimensions and indeed the possibility of its success.

I hope sincerely to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Mr. David Dubinsky, President
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York 19, New York

MLK:mlb

JAN 5 REC'D

**GEORGE F.
McCRAY**

PRESIDENT LOCAL NO. 1006 - AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE,
COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO
6022 Kenwood Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

July 3, 1958

Dear Brother Randolph,

I do appreciate your letting me come to see you during my transit through New York. Your strong position on ridding Africa on colonialism was most reassuring at a time when we hear so many people in high places talking about maintaining stability in Africa, gradualism, ability to discharge responsibilities of self-government, and such other devices of evasion through ambiguity.

Do you think the time is ripe to step us the pressure a bit? Have you given any thought to the idea of founding a national group which would work to have the government and private organizations support more positive programs on behalf of Africa; and which would develop and maintain helpful contacts with African nationalist groups? It seems to me the time is ripe for this undertaking. I would appreciate your views on this proposal.

The group should not be largely a labor body for that would involve too many complications.

Fraternally yours,

George F. McCray

JUL 7 REC'D

July 10, 1958

Mr. George F. McCray
6022 Kenwood Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Brother McCray:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July 3, 1958.

I was delighted to see you and have a chat about the new Africa while you were in New York. Relative to your suggestion about the formation of a national group for the purpose of maintaining contacts with African nationalist movements and to get government and private organizations to support positive and constructive programs for Africa, I have given this matter quite a bit of thought. As a matter of fact, Ted Brown of the AFL-CIO, Maida Springer of the ILGWU, and one or two others have been talking about this question for a long, long time. We have not reached the point of concluding upon any definitive action. I am inclined to believe that such a movement is necessary but quite some preliminary discussion would be necessary in order to avoid conflict with existing movements.

One of my concerns has been the deplorable lack of information among Negroes themselves about Africa and,more distressing still, the lack of pride in their ancestry roots. In the last analysis, such a movement would hardly be effective unless Negroes believed in it and rallied to its support. There is also the question as to the composition of such a movement, which means thorough discussion.

I want to enlist your comments and cooperation on a proposal I plan to make at the next meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, with respect to Africa. The proposal is that the AFL-CIO recommend to the ICFTU that a World Congress on Colonialism be held in the near future, preferably in Africa, but in Europe if more feasible.

The purpose of this World Congress on Colonialism is to shake up the conscience of the world on this question, break through the deepening fog of complacency, and reaffirm in thundering terms the fact that colonial reforms are no substitute to African nationalism for the complete abolition of colonialism.

In my opinion, colonialism in Africa is the one single remaining form of human slavery in the twentieth century and it must be vigorously challenged in world-shaking dimensions. In other words, we don't want just one question of the agenda of the ICFTU Congress taken up with colonialism; we want the subject of colonialism to be the sole, main, and central subject of a world congress which would run over a period of a week or more.

The free world is glibly talking about halting the march of communism in Asia and Africa, but it will make no progress so long as the Africans themselves are not convinced of the integrity and sincerity of the professions about freedom of the Western powers. This is also true of the Western free trade union movement.

I am working out an outline for such a congress and since you are fresh from Africa with your many and varied contacts with African personalities and the impression of the surging forward of millions of black people toward freedom, which must touch and move any black man, I want to request you to give a lot of thought to this program and work out your concept of an outline, with special emphasis on reasons (in (1), (2), (3), (4) form) why such a congress is necessary and imperative.

Such a congress would have much weight on the colonial powers, as well as the United Nations and help to awaken the United States to the magnitude and urgency of the problem. It would be comparable to a world peace congress and not less in significance to any great congress of people that has ever been held in the history of the world.

The ICFTU, under the impact of the AFL-CIO,may undertake it. Of course, my first job is to sell the idea to the AFL-CIO, which is no little undertaking. It will cost money. If I can get the AFL-CIO to undertake it, they will see that the money is supplied. If I can get the AFL-CIO commited to this program, I would undertake to get them to enlist your talents to help build the congress. One thing I must say to the great credit of the AFL-CIO is that they have taken up every project I have presented to them concerning Africa, even though they curtailed the scholarship program.

If you feel that this is a worthwhile project, I would like you to give some time to thinking up an outline, develop reasons for same, not sketchily but fully as you wish, and send them to me at your earliest convenience. I plan to get some suggestions from one or two other persons, however, I want to suggest that you not mention this matter to anyone at this time.

When I finish the outline, based upon the suggestions you send me and some suggestions I may get from some other interested persons, I will send you a copy.

I may say that even if the AFL-CIO do not accept the proposal at this coming session, I shall continue to press the idea upon them. I need not tell you that our biggest obstacle will be the British.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:BW

George T. McCray
6022 Kenwood ave
Chicago 37, Ill.

July 21, 1958

Mr. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph,

Your last letter is a great boost to my morale. It is most imperative that we take immediate steps to set up a national organization through which we can give effective expression of our African interests. I do not think we need to have misgivings about public support. The prospects are most favorable for a strong national organization. I will write to you later about my ideas concerning (1) the structure, (2) the program, (3) and the membership of the kind of organization which I hope to see created.

I also hope that you and I and such other African nationalists as Ted Brown, Maida Springer, Hilton Hanna will meet in New York or Chicago to explore this proposal in detail. I am already holding exploratory discussions with certain local people.

With reference to your proposal for the calling of an ICFTU sponsored conference on colonialism, I must say that I would advise against it at this particular moment. Eventually I think we should make the effort as you propose. Such a conference, if carefully planned and managed should not only direct world attention to the essentially evil nature of colonialism (despite Geo. Schuzler), but should populorize certain proposals for liquidating the system.

I advise delay now, only to leave the field, for at least a year, to the"All African Peoples Conference". Please have it duplicated and returned to me immediately.

You will readily see from the Accra call that they intend to cover essentially the same ground which we would propose that an ICFTU conference should cover -- namely the evils of colonialism and what we can do to get rid of them. It is likely that the Accra conference would give less attention to what might be done within the metropolitan powers to speed up the liquidation of colonialism. The big concern at Accra will be African mobilization for the bitter struggle to come as well as condemnation of foreign domination.

I am certain the Accra conference, the first of its kind in the long bitter history of the continent, will be sweeping and uncompromising. It will also attract the attention of the world and be roundly applauded and strongly condemned for reasons which are too obvious to be listed in this short letter. Imperialist, white supremacist influences will seek to have the Accra conference discredited as being unrealistic, extremeist, and designed to sow disruption and dissention throughout Africa.

Now, the ICFTU conference because of the very nature of its sponsorship and participation would be much more compromising, "reasonable", "moderate", or "temperate". It would not bring forward a ringing clear-cut program such as the situation demands. The effort to push it into a stronger position would only lead to bitterness and recrimination. In the end most of our American labor friends would desert us.

Coming ofter the Accra conference the "findings" of the ICFTU conference would be used to discredit the Accra conference as well as to confuse public understanding of the evils of colonialism. And since there is likely to be great variation in the findings of the two conferences, African Nationalist leaders would certainly regard ICFTU, and by inclusion AFL-CIO, with strong distrust.

The basic strategy of us American Negroes should be to develop a close friendly alliance between African labor and American labor and between Africans and Americans. To this end I think we might, as an immediate strategic objective, seek to have a good U.S. labor delegation attend the Accra conference -- if we are invited. I am now making inquiries on this point.

I think it would be most advantageous to the achievement of our basic ofjectives if we were to take the findings of the Accra conference before the AFL-CIO executive board and seek endorsement of their basic aims and objectives as well as provision of regular financial support for the Africa nationalist movement. We have, that is the AFL_CIO, made a good beginning by the $30,000 we would have spent on African labor education, by the $1,000 we sent to help the South African liberals to defend themselves against charges of sedition, and by the $25,00 we sent to defend Mboya and his colleagues against changes conspiracy and libels. Later we should have AFL-CIO delegates to the next ICFTU conference propose that the Accra conference findings be endorsed and their implementation aided.

To recapitulate, an ICFTU conference such as you would propose to the AFL-CIO executive board would conflict with, detract from, and help to minimize the effect of the "All African Peoples Conference." It is really my fault that you were not informed about plans for the Accra Conference when George Padmore informed me about them several months ago.

We should strive to highlight, to emphasize, and to encourage acceptance of the findings of the Accra Conference by the AFL-CIO AND EVENTUALLY BY THE ICFTU.

We should encourage the development of close friendly relations between U. S. labor and African labor while still cooperating as best we can with the ICFTU, but without being committed to

to support any ICFTU policies on Africa.

In the event you do not accept my advise concerning the Accra conference or in the event that you do agree to propose that the World Conference on Colonialism be convened 18 mos. to 2 years from now, I suggest that you might recommend the following to your colleagues on the AFL-CIO executive board:

1. That the conference be held in London in April or May of 1960. The British Labor Party will probably be in power by that time and we will definitely know the results of DeGaules efforts to counter the efforts of the nationalists in French Africa to achieve full self-government, and also the fate of Nigeria. The outcome of these issues whether favorable or unfavorable to the cause of African nationalism, would provide a better setting for an ICFTU conference. Moreover, the major point of consideration here is the fact that an early conference in 1960 would give AFL-CIO leaders ample opportunity to go before the conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, before the platform committees I mean, and urge adoption of strong anti-colonial policies. Thus, with the aid of the numerous organizations interested in African affairs, we should be able for the first time in history, to make African colonialism a major issue in an American presidential election.

London is suggested as the place for the conference because the conference should be held in Europe and because London has better facilities for the world-wide distribution of news. It is also more practical from the point of view of attendance.

2. The purpose of the conference should be to evaluate the impact of colonialism on world affairs, on the lives of the peoples subject to colonial rule, and to formulate policies to speed the granting of full self-government to all oppressed peoples. An ICFTU conference with these objectives is justified by these facts:

a) with the exception of the United Kingdom in African area of low white settlement, the colonial powers in Africa cannot cope with the mounting tide of African nationalism and their attempts at repression and frustration is causing the Africans to view the whole western world with suspicion;

b) this development is particularly unfortunate and dangerous since the outcome of the world struggle to preserve democracy will not be determined by our preponderance of military power, assuming that we have it, but by our ability to demonstrate in concrete and practical ways our belief in the right of all people to enjoy freedom, justice, and equality;

c) western leadership with reference to African affairs must come from private sources such as the AFL-CIO in the United States, since responsible opinion in Europe is at best narrowly reformist on Africa, and since this opinion shares the view with top officials in our Department of State that Africa is a mere, but necessary appendage to the political and economic systems of Europe and to be used primarily for that purpose;

d) the fact that so many of the African nationalists and the African peoples are kindly disposed toward America, at least for the moment; because of our history, our culture which carries a strong African flavor, the progress of Americans of African descent-------- and the absence of any American colonial posessions in Africa, make it possible, indeed imperative that we extend the full hand of aid and fellowship to our African brothers;

e) though the U. S. Government, because of fear of offending NATO associates might continue her present policy of not offending the colonial powers over Africa, the U. S. government would undoubtedly welcome more positive and constructive action from private groups.

3. You should propose that Africans be fully consulted and participate actively in setting up and operating the conference in order to;

    a) insure African confidence and representation,

    b) increase the probability that the conference agenda and its findings will reflect with maximum effect the African point of view on colonialism,

4. You should propose also that world authorities, Negro, white, and African be invited to formally address the conference on respective agenda items, for

    a) the knowledge of Africa in labor ranks is too scant to enable the delegates without outside assistance to arrive at sound and accurate conclusions,

    b) we should employ every available device to gain serious consideration for the findings of the conference.

Phil, your letter came at a hectic time for me. If you want specific proposals about agenda items let me know immediately as I expect to be on the Pacific coast all next week.

Fraternally as ever,

George J. McGray

ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

AIMS AND OBJECTS

The main purpose of the All African People's Conference will be to formulate concrete plans and work out the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African Non-Violent Revolution in relation to:-

1. Colonialism and Imperialism
2. Racialism and Discriminatory Laws and Practices
3. Tribalism and Religious Separatism
4. The position of Chieftaincy under
    (a) Colonial Rule
    (b) A Free Democratic Society

The time has come for an open exposure of, and an onslaught upon, the propagators of Tribalism, who are today the most dangerous black agents of the Imperialists, for it is their poisonous policy of inciting Africans against Africans, brothers against brothers, tribes against tribes, which constitutes the greatest obstacle to the achievement of United Freedom Fighters Fronts, which alone can bring about a speedy end to foreign domination.

Not until we expose and unmask the anti-patriotic role of those African political careerists whose activities only help the Imperialists to maintain their traditional policy of "divide and rule" - the last bulwark of Colonialism - will Africa regain her lost freedom and take her rightful place among the comity of nations on an equal footing with others.

This problem of "Divide and Rule" along tribal lines is an ever-pressing danger in the so-called multi-racial territories of East and Central Africa, where our uncompromising demands must be:

1. Land to the Africans
2. Equal voting rights for all, regardless of race, tribe, colour or creed
3. Implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations

THE CONFERENCE will also examine the question of Irredentism and discuss plans for the regrouping of Independent African States on the basis of:

1. Adjustment of existing artificial frontiers.
2. Amalgamation or federation of territories on a regional basis.
3. The progressive federation or confederation of geographical regional State Groupings into an ultimate Pan-African Commonwealth

ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

"AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS"

Secretary-General
Post Office Box 921
Accra, Ghana

Dear Fellow Africans---Greetings:

Today we bring you news that will warm the cockles of your heart.

At long last we are able to announce that as a result of the exchange of views between progressive African nationalist leaders who attended the first anniversary celebrations of Ghana Independence and the recent Conference of Independent African States, it has been decided to convene an All-African People's Conference to be held in Accra in October, 1958.

It was further agreed to set up a Preparatory Committee to plan and organise the Conference. A Secretariat has therefore been established at the above address to co-ordinate and direct "OPERATION FREEDOM."

As one of organisations invited to sponsor the Conference, we are appealing to you to give your maximum support to the work of the Secretariat in order to make the All-African People's Conference the greatest in the history of our awakened Continent. We would like you to give the widest publicity to the enclosed appeal and provisional agenda, and to send us the names of organisations which you think should be invited as co-sponsors of the Conference.

We would also like to receive from you a copy of your programme and constitution, as well as a short statement of the history of your organisation since its foundation. We require this information so as to compile a booklet for circulation among the participating organisations.

Africa is on the march. Long live friendship, solidarity and fraternity among the peoples of our Continent.

Down with Divide and Rule!
Down with Colonialism!
Forward to Racial Equality and National Freedom.

Yours fraternally,

Secretary-General
Preparatory Committee

ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

A CALL TO FREEDOM

Attention all Africans!

Have you heard the clarion call to action? - HANDS OFF AFRICA!

AFRICA MUST BE FREE!

Now in order to translate this call into action and thereby enable the oppressed and exploited masses of Africa to achieve their legitimate human rights and political aspirations of self-government, independence and self-determination, we the representatives of the sponsoring organisations have taken the initiative in convening an All African People's Conference as the rallying centre of Emergent African Nationalism.

THIS CONFERENCE will take place in Accra, the capital of the new progressive State of Ghana, in October 1958

THIS CONFERENCE, unlike the recent Conference of Independent African States, will be on a non-government level and will be attended by hundreds of representatives of progressive political, nationalist, trade union, co-operative, youth, women's and other organisations of the people from every country throughout Africa - dependent and independent.

PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT as well as representatives from non-African organisations which endorse the aims and objects of the Conference will also be invited to attend as fraternal delegates and unofficial observers.

THIS CONFERENCE will be the greatest gathering of its kind ever to be brought together on African soil. It will demonstrate the solidarity and fraternity which bind the awakening peoples of Africa, cutting across race, tribe and the artificial frontiers which the imperialists have contrived in order to divide us and so maintain their evil system of Colonialism, Racial Domination and Tribal Separation.

THIS CONFERENCE will formulate and proclaim the philosophy of Pan-Africanism as the ideology of the African Non-Violent Revolution.

Henceforth our slogan shall be:

PEOPLES OF AFRICA, UNITE! You have nothing to lose but your chains!! You have a Continent to regain!! You have Freedom and Human Dignity to attain!!!

And to the Colonialists we say:

HANDS OFF AFRICA!! AFRICA MUST BE FREE!!!

SPONSORING ORGANISATIONS FOR THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

C.P.P. (Ghana)

The Progressive Party (Uganda)

Zanzibar Nationalist Party (Zanzibar)

Tanganyika Federation of Labour (Tanganyika)

T.A.N.U. (Tanganyika)

Southern Rhodesia African National Congress

Northern Rhodesia African National Congress

Nyasaland African National Congress

N.E.P.U (Nigeria)

N.C.N.C. (Nigeria)

National Congress (Uganda)

S.L.I.M. (Sierra Leone)

Nairobi Convention People's Party (Kenya)

Somalia Youth League (Somalia)

African National Congress (South Africa)

Zikist National Vanguard (Nigeria)

N.A.S.S.O. (Ghana)

Federation of Labour (Kenya)

T.U. Congress (Ghana)

U.M.M.A. (Sudan)

Pan-African Unification Organization (Liberia)

African League (U.K.)

United Congress Party (Uganda)

Neo-Destour (Tunisia)

Istiqlal (Morocco)

Juvento (French Togoland)

Convention Africaine (Senegal)

Unity Party (French Togoland)

African Forum (U.K.)

Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar)

Gambia Muslin Congress (Gambia)

National Union Students (E.A.)

Pan-African Federation

African League (Angola)

SPONSORING ORGANISATIONS FOR THE ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

C.P.P. (Ghana)

The Progressive Party (Uganda)

Zanzibar Nationalist Party (Zanzibar)

Tanganyika Federation of Labour (Tanganyika)

T.A.N.U. (Tanganyika)

Southern Rhodesia African National Congress

Northern Rhodesia African National Congress

Nyasaland African National Congress

N.E.P.U (Nigeria)

N.C.N.C. (Nigeria)

National Congress (Uganda)

S.L.I.M. (Sierra Leone)

Nairobi Convention People's Party (Kenya)

Somalia Youth League (Somalia)

African National Congress (South Africa)

Zikist National Vanguard (Nigeria)

N.A.S.S.O. (Ghana)

Federation of Labour (Kenya)

T.U. Congress (Ghana)

U.M.M.A. (Sudan)

Pan-African Unification Organization (Liberia)

African League (U.K.)

United Congress Party (Uganda)

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African Forum (U.K.)

Afro-Shirazi Party (Zanzibar)

Gambia Muslin Congress (Gambia)

National Union Students (E.A.)

Pan-African Federation

African League (Angola)

August 5, 1958

Mr. George F. McCray
6022 Kenwood Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of July 21, 1958 with enclosures concerning the All African People's Conference.

I note your observations concerning our proposed World Conference on Colonialism and your suggestion that it be postponed for two years in view of the fact that in October, 1958 an All African People's Conference will be held which will deal with the same question.

I am in accord with your observations on this matter since, as you indicated, any World Congress on Colonialism developed by the western labor movement may not serve the cause for the abolition of African colonialism at this time.

Relative to the development of an African movement in this country, may I say that I have talked with Ted Brown, Maida Springer and a few others about this matter and they are deeply interested.

I would suggest that we try to arrange a meeting on this matter some time in the next month or so.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

GEORGE F. McCRAY

PRESIDENT LOCAL NO. 1006 - AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES, AFL-CIO

P. O. Box 6414, Chicago 80, Ill.

September 5, 1958

Dear Brother Randolph,

At long last I was suddenly invited to make myself available for a staff position with with the African Labor College to be opened in Kampala, Uganda in November. I still feel this is too early, but I told them I could meet their request that I be in Brussels during the last week of this month. AFL-CIO will supplement the basic ICFTU salary. To what extent I do not know as yet.

As I have indicated to you on several occasions I am deeply interested in setting up an organization outside the labor movement to cultivate more constructive relations between Americans and Africans. The work I have in mind would be different that being done by any of the present organizations in the field.

Would it be possible for us to have a small conference with interested persons on the Saturday or Sunday preceding my departure for Brussels. I would leave these details to you. I would bring to such a meeting detailed proposals on purpose and program, and method of operation.

Yours fraternally,

George F. McCray

September 9, 1958

Mr. George F. McCray
P. O. Box 6416
Chicago 80, Illinois

Dear Brother McCray:

Thank you for your letter of September 5, 1958 with enclosure addressed to Mr. Charles H. Millard, Director of Organisations, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

I note that you have taken a position with the African Labor College which is opening in November in Kampala, Uganda. I am very glad to get this information. Success to you and your position.

Relative to having a small conference before you leave for Brussels, may I say that I do not think that this will be possible since I too am leaving around the latter part of this month for California.

Kindly write me from time to time so that I may be kept informed of the progress of the school.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Morris Milgram

84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey
April 21, 1958

CONFIDENTIAL: This memorandum is for the use of members of the organizing group only and must not be used for outside solicitation of capital funds. The securities herein referred to are not being publicly offered at present.

MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS, INC. is a business venture with a social goal; the development of private housing without discrimination based on race or creed. Racially integrated private housing is practical on a commercial basis today. A study* soon to be published by the Commission on Race and Housing has found over 50 interracial developments of privately built new housing throughout the nation. Well over half were built commercially; many of these have returned a good profit to their developers. Further, the study found that the number of such developments established each year has increased consistently for the past few years; in addition, a growing number of individuals and groups have expressed interest in undertaking open occupancy housing in their own communities. A high proportion of these, however, have also expressed a need for information and assistance to overcome the unique problems of site selection, financing, and marketing associated with this approach in the face of today's predominantly segregated pattern.

Modern Community Developers is a commercial response to these needs for information and assistance. It aims, on a solid business basis, to accelerate the trend toward integrated housing through the use of a corporate structure financed by the sale of 1,500,000 common stock to persons concerned with advancing a social goal while investing their funds. MCD will make available to building groups the knowledge and practical experience of successful developers of integrated housing. Where a project appears to be socially and economically sound, but local financing sources are timid, the Corporation can provide the additional equity investment necessary.

HOW MODERN COMMUNITY DEVELOPERS IS BEING SET UP

MCD is a commercial rather than a non-profit venture because of a belief that integrated housing can succeed on a wide basis only if it repeatedly is shown to be commercially practical. Accordingly, stock subscriptions to MCD are invited as investments. Fifteen thousand shares of common stock are to be issued at $100 per share. Stock is non-assessable; each share has full voting rights and equal dividend rights, and is non-convertible. There are no special restrictions, preference, preemptive, or liquidation rights; all shares, when issued, shall be fully paid. Compensation for executive officers will be determined by the Board.

---

* Grier, Eunice and George. Privately Developed Interracial Housing. Commission on Race and Housing, Berkeley, California. To be published in 1958.

The Corporation will not commence regular business operations until $250,000 has been subscribed. If the $250,000 is not reached by December 31, 1958, subscribers have the right to request the return of 90% of their subscriptions. To date written subscriptions of $100,000 have been received, the first subscription being one of $25,000 from Kivie Kaplan, Boston industrialist who is co-chairman of the NAACP's Life Membership Committee. The minimum subscription being accepted is $2,500.

HOW WILL MCD OPERATE

MCD will lend to builders of integrated housing, both private groups and cooperatives, a portion of the capital they need, usually between $25,000 to $50,000, but in no case more than 20% of MCD's capitalization on good security, such as land, etc. Concurrently, MCD would enter into management contracts whereby such builders are advised on problems of building, sales, community relations, securing of risk capital, permanent mortgages and construction loans. MCD's fee would be a share of the profit before taxes. From the experience of builders of integrated housing a reasonable return on invested capital seems likely for this $1,500,000 corporation.

MANAGEMENT OF MCD

The president of MCD is a builder, Morris Milgram, organizer with George E. Otto of Concord Park, an interracial community of 139 houses in the $12,000-$16,000 range in suburban Philadelphia. Concord's $110,000 investment has been returned. The majority of investors, satisfied with the profits, have reinvested in integrated housing under the same leadership. Concord Park was followed by Greenbelt Knoll, a 19-house award-win ing tract in the $20,000-$35,000 range, in Philadelphia, where Milgram lives. Construction in Princeton, New Jersey, has begun with 19 houses in the $17,000-$35,000 range already sold.

This record of social and financial achievement has encouraged other groups to undertake similar communities in various parts of the country, and Mr. Milgram has repeatedly been called upon to help these groups avoid errors and achieve fine integrated communities. During the past year he has visited twenty cities in which groups are working to develop integrated housing.

The secretary of MCD is Henry S. Broad, Princeton, New Jersey. National Counsel is White, Williams and Scott, Land Title Bldg., Phila., Pa.

The Board of MCD, now in formation, includes:

MORRIS MILGRAM, Philadelphia, Pa. Executive vice-president, Concord Park Homes, Inc., Greenbelt Knoll, Inc., Princeton Housing Associates, Inc., and Prospect Construction Corp. In 1956 he received the Walter White award of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. He was selected to deliver the 1958 Sidney Hillman lecture on open occupancy housing at the University of Minnesota. Articles about his work have appeared in many national periodicals, including Coronet, Presbyterian Life, New York Times, Commonweal, House & Home, and Ebony. He will gradually give full time as MCD's president as the capital is raised.

FRANK C. MONTERO, New York, N. Y. Former associate executive director, National Urban League, who will work full time as MCD's vice-president, when the quarter million dollar subscription figure is reached.

MARIETTA TREE, New York, N. Y. Noted civic leader, board member International Rescue Committee, and trustee, National Urban League.

MORTON S. GROSSMAN, Quincy, Mass. Partner of L. Grossman Sons, largest New England building materials dealers, and a director of two banks.

DAVID H. SCULL, Annandale, Va. President, Turnpike Press; board of directors, Nationwide Insurance Company; chairman, Baltimore Friends Social Order Committee; past president Rochdale Cooperative, Inc., Virginia.

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, Cambridge, Mass. Physicist, Harvard University.

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, Chicago, Ill. Economist; chairman, Independent Voters of Illinois.

Mail To Morris Milgram, President
Modern Community Developers, Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

STOCK SUBSCRIPTION AGREEMENT

In consideration of similar agreement by other subscribers, I hereby agree to subscribe for ________ shares of Common Stock of Modern Community Developers, Inc., a corporation formed under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and agree to pay $100.00 per share, a total of $______________. Ten percent of this amount, $______________, is paid herewith; balance payable within 45 days of written notice to make such payment by a duly authorized officer of the corporation.

It is my intention that by executing this agreement to subscribe, I become legally bound to the other parties who sign like agreements, and to Modern Community Developers, Inc., and that this agreement is irrevocable.

I understand that this agreement is conditioned upon similar stock subscriptions for a total of at least $250,000 being received by December 31, 1958. Thus, until such time, the Corporation will incur no indebtedness in excess of 10% of subscriptions received.

By January 10, 1959, the company will mail to all subscribers a report on stock subscriptions. If the total is under $250,000, 90% of the amount subscribed by any subscriber will be returned upon his written application made on or before January 31, 1959, to the office of the company, 84 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.. As to those not requesting return within that time, the directors will determine whether or not to continue their efforts.

WITNESS my hand and seal this ____ day of ________, 1958.

______________________(SEAL)

______________________(ADDRESS)

______________________(CITY & STATE)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
DEAN CHAMBERLIN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MORTON S. GROSSMAN
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
DAVID H. SCULL
MARIETTA TREE
JACKIE ROBINSON
MAX DELSON

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WALNUT 4-0701

May 5, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

I am sending on to you a letter from Mrs. Roosevelt, which I thought you might like to acknowledge personally.

The sponsor mailing is bringing very good results, and we are most grateful to you for your help.

Cordially,

Morris

Morris Milgram

MM/ems
encl.

MAY 6 REC'D

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
211 EAST 62ND STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

April 30, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your letter which I appreciate.

I am sorry to say I cannot attend the dinner on May 27th and therefore, I feel I had better not be one of your sponsors.

With many regrets,

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
DEAN CHAMBERLIN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MORTON S. GROSSMAN
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
DAVID H. SCULL
MARIETTA TREE
JACKIE ROBINSON
MAX DELSON

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WALNUT 4-0701

May 12, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

We are pleased at the response received from those who have agreed to act as sponsors of the dinner on Tuesday, May 27th. Additional sponsor replies are coming in daily.

We are now attempting to build up attendance at the dinner. In our contacts with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, we have been informed that the Union would probably take several tickets. However, it was suggested that if you could call Executive Vice-President Louis Stulberg by telephone, there would be no question that the ILGWU national office would take one or two tables at the dinner.

Mr. Stulberg is in Montreal this week at a General Board meeting, but will be back in his office next Monday, May 19th. The phone number of the ILG is Columbus 5-7000.

I do not like to trouble you with details, but I do hope you will be able to make this key phone call.

Thank you again for your splendid cooperation.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM/ems

APR Phoned
5/20/58

MAY 13 REC'D

May 13, 1958

Mr. Morris Milgram, President
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Morris:

Thank you for your letter of May 5, 1958 with a letter of reply from Mrs. Roosevelt.

It is easy for one to understand her disinclination to attach herself to another movement inasmuch as she has so many attachments and responsibilities.

I am glad to know the program moves promisingly forward.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/b

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON
DEAN CHAMBERLIN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
MORTON S. GROSSMAN
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
JACKIE ROBINSON
WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE
DAVID H. SCULL
MARIETTA TREE
STUART E. WALLACE

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

May 14, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

I want to advise you that Ben Stahl, former AFL-CIO Representative, is assisting me in contacting some of the unions about our dinner on Tuesday, May 27th.

He will keep you posted, for your information, on the interest and responses among the unions. There has been a good number of union leaders who have agreed to be sponsors of the dinner, and we expect a fair representation to be present at the affair.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM/ems

MAY 15 REC'D

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON
DEAN CHAMBERLIN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
MAX DELSON
MORTON S. GROSSMAN
MAYNARD C. KRUEGER
JACKIE ROBINSON
WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE
DAVID H. SCULL
MARIETTA TREE
STUART E. WALLACE

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

June 2, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

I can't tell you how proud I am of the wonderful things you said about me at the MCD founding dinner. Your speech was grand, and that alone was worth all the work.

We're working on a letter to all sponsors thanking them for their support. Acopy will follow.

Again, my deepest thanks for your inspiring help.

Best ever,

Morris

MM/ems

P.S. Enclosed is copy of a labor press release you might like to use in The Black Worker.

JUN 4 REC'D

June 6, 1958

Mr. Morris Milgram, President
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Morris:

Thank you for your letter of June 2, 1958 with copy of labor press release. I will carry the release or some part of it in the BLACK WORKER.

May I say that I considered the MCD founding dinner a great success. I think it has started the enterprise off to a successful beginning.

I think your talk was splendid and informative. You may be assured that I was glad to help.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/b

COPY

June 16, 1958

Mrs. Robert L. Vann
The Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Avenue
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Vann:

I wish to express thanks, in behalf of the Board of Directors of Modern Community Developers and myself, for your sponsorship of our founding dinner and the very kind letter you sent along with it to Mr. Randolph.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a confidential memorandum which describes MCD in some detail, in the hope that you will know some people in the Pittsburgh area who might be in a psoition to invest in stock. Or perhaps you are yourself interested in doing so. Stock subscriptions are at this point our greatest need, as we are unable to begin actual operations until a quarter of a million dollars is on hand. The major protion of that figure has been raised, and we are now "straining at the leash"!

Also enclosed is a program of our May 27th dinner, which was a tremendous success!

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON
DEAN CHAMBERLIN
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
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STUART E. WALLACE

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

June 16, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

Enclosed are a couple of letters I thought you might especially want to see, and perhaps acknowledge personally.

The letters to Mrs. Vann and Robt. Johnson you will note I have replied to. If you felt it possible to second my suggestion of a stock subscription, that would of course be a great help.

As ever,

Morris

Morris

MM/ems
encl.

Mail To: Morris Milgram, President
Modern Community Developers, Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

STOCK SUBSCRIPTION AGREEMENT

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It is my intention that by executing this agreement to subscribe, I become legally bound to the other parties who sign like agreements, and to Modern Community Developers, Inc., and that this agreement is irrevocable.

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WITNESS my hand and seal this _____ day of _________, 1958.

______________________(SEAL)

______________________(ADDRESS)

______________________(CITY & STATE)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
FRANK C. MONTERO, Vice-President
BENJAMIN J. ANDERSON
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STUART E. WALLACE

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

July 14, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Int'l Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
2588 7th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

Enclosed is a draft of an article to be published through the Associated Negro Press.

I would appreciate your returning this draft with whatever corrections and revisions you consider advisable as soon as convenient. It will take some time to get this into circulation and the need is urgent.

Cordially,

Morris

Morris Milgram

MM/ea
encl.

July 31, 1958

Mr. Morris Milgram
Modern Community Developers, Inc.
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Morris:

Relative to the article you suggested that I sign entitled "How To End Jim Crow Housing", may I say that I would enjoy signing such an article but the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters' International Executive Board has gone on record that none of the international officers shall sponsor the sale of anything, stocks, real estate, etc.

The reason for this action is that in every community where porters reside some members call upon the Brotherhood to sponsor the sale of some article, land, stocks or something of interest to them.

Thus, in order to avoid committing the organization to the sponsorship of numerous proposals of selling articles of various sorts, we have taken the position that no international officer should sponsor anything for sale.

This is the only reason I will not be able to sign the suggested article.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

P.O.Box 6414, Dhicago 80, Ill., USA

September 3, 1958

Mr. Charles H. Millard,
Director of Organisation,
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
24 rue du Lombard,
Beussels, Belgium

Dear Sir & Brother:

On the recommendation of Mr. Michael Ross of the AFL-CIO I am presenting to you my application for employment in relation to the African Labor College. Of course, I should greatly welcome an opportunity to make whatever contribution to the success of the school as it is in my power to make.

Subject to final advice from you, I shall arrange to be in Brussels on Monday or Tuesday, July 22 or 23, arriving by Pan-American World Airways.

Since time is so very short, I would appreciate an early statement from you concerning the probable duration of my appointment, the compensation, travel allowances, and such other facts or proposals relating to the school as would aid my proper orientation before I depart from the United States.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.........PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY......SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER......VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.......VICE-PRESIDENT

September 26, 1958

SEP 29 [illegible]

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation of Thursday morning, I am enclosing herewith the post card which we discussed, now being circulated by the "Citizens For Eisenhower-Nixon 1958 Committee," 109 E. 42nd Street, New York. This card was handed out by a group of Baptist Ministers at a recent meeting of the NAACP in Racine, Wisconsin and I understand, further, that copies of it were made available to the delegates at the National Baptist Convention held in Chicago earlier this month.

I understand from our telephone conversation someone at the Republican Party Headquarters in New York did consult with you and Roy Wilkins about use of the photograph. However, you explained that they did not indicate that the photograph would be used for the obvious purposes contained on the enclosed post card. It seems apparent that the "Citizens For Eisenhower-Nixon" are using this picture, as I am sure you will agree, as a Republican political 'Civil Rights' gimmick, and the message contained thereon is unquestionably of a political nature and most assuredly asserts this point of view in its context.

In light of your understanding with respect to the use of this photograph, I am wondering since you indicated that you merely gave permission providing no partisan use would be made of the photograph, if consideration is being given by you and the others to the issuance of a statement clarifying this very unfortunate utilization of four of our national Civil Rights leaders. I would of course be most grateful to have your comments.

It was good talking to you and I look forward to hearing from you soon. Kindest personal regards.

Fraternally,

Bill

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:os
oeiu42aflcio
cc- Mr. Theodore Brown
enclosure

99

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

TO: Mr Philip Randolph

FROM: WHO

[✓ ....For your information]

............Note and return to me

............Per your request

............For your action

Comments:...

....

....

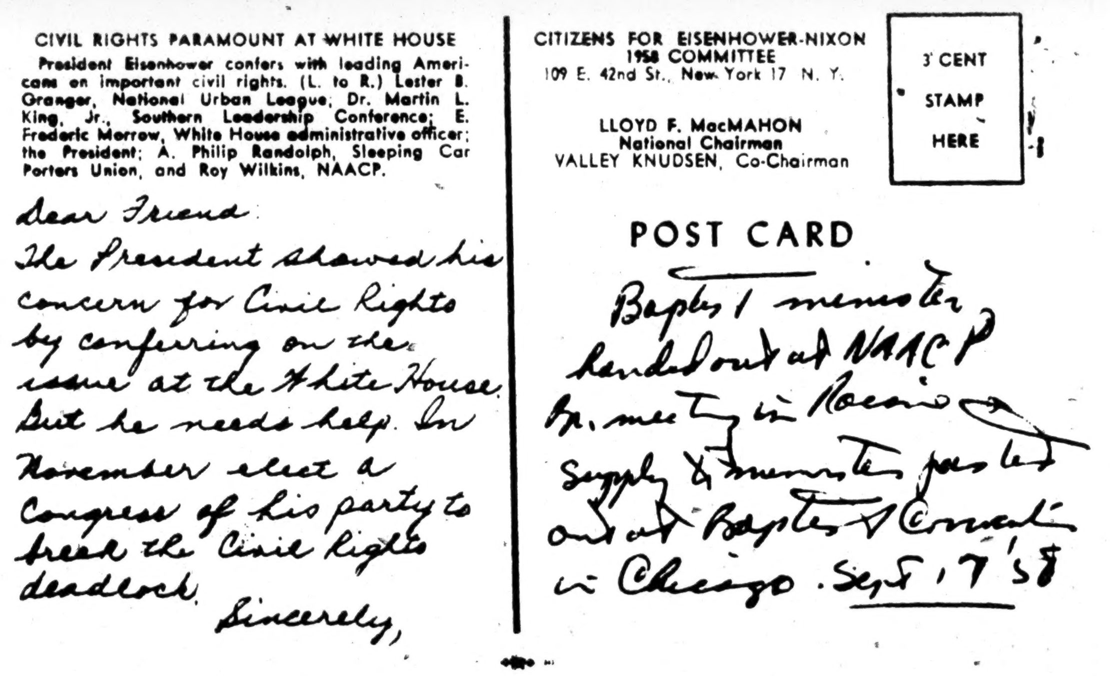
....

....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL AMERICANS



CIVIL RIGHTS PARAMOUNT AT WHITE HOUSE

President Eisenhower confers with leading Americans on important civil rights. (L. to R.) Lester B. Granger, National Urban League; Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Southern Leadership Conference; E. Frederic Morrow, White House administrative officer; the President; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters Union, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP.

Dear Friend:

The President showed his concern for Civil Rights by conferring on the issue at the White House. But he needs help. In November elect a Congress of his party to break the Civil Rights deadlock.

Sincerely,

CITIZENS FOR EISENHOWER-NIXON
1958 COMMITTEE
109 E. 42nd St., New York 17 N. Y.

LLOYD F. MacMAHON
National Chairman
VALLEY KNUDSEN, Co-Chairman

3' CENT
STAMP
HERE

POST CARD

Baptist minister
handed out at NAACP
Br. meeting in Racine
Supply & ministers passed
out at Baptist Convention
in Chicago. Sept 17 '58

October 29, 1958

Mr. William H. Oliver
United Automobile Workers Union
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Bill:

Thanks a lot for your letter concerning the post card being put out by the Republicans with the picture of the committee who waited on President Eisenhower, concerning civil rights. No doubt, Republican politicians will attempt to make any use of it they can to advance their interests.

Relative to issuing a statement concerning the card, may I say that we could not express anyopposition to the card, inasmuch as we agreed to the idea of the photograph of the committee being put on a post card, and felt that it might have an educational value in the interest of civil rights although we didn't anticipate the use of it for partisan political purposes.

I am glad you brought it to my attention.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

R/BW

PUBLIC RELATIONS **RESEARCH** **PUBLICITY** **PROGRAMS**

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES **KEnwood 6-1240**
409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

September 30, 1958

A. Phillip Randolph
116 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Randolph:

All day my mind has been on you. Please be careful and do not rely too much upon the gratitude of the people for whom you constantly pour out your life. Mahatma Gandhi was killed by an Indian after he had given his whole life to Indian freedom. Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the first, his Cromwell.

Indeed the hero of today is the victim of tomorrow's fury. Today he receives the popular applause ; tomorrow the abuse of an ungrateful people. Those who today cry " Hossanah to the highest " tomorrow may shout " Crucify him ". Such is the mutability of material grandeur.

Hope you are well and happy. I was pleased to see you stand with Powell. Please convey my sincere sympathy to Dr. King and hopes for his early recovery. Best luck too for the Washington march for school integration. All good wishes from

Your steadfast friend,

Chandler

Chandler Owen

How is that condition for which I recommended Pazo ?

October 16, 1958

Dear Chandler:

It was good to get your letter of recent date, warning me that those who acclaim today may destroy tomorrow. I told Lucille that I received a note from you and she was happy to hear about it.

Yes, I did use Pazo and found it to be effective - thanks a lot for the suggestion.

When I am in Chicago again, I will give you a ring so that we might have lunch together.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

R/BW

Mr. Chandler Owen
409 Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
MORRIS MILGRAM, President
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JACKIE ROBINSON
MAX DELSON

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WALNUT 4-0701

April 28, 1958

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
2588 7th Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am writing to you because I believe you share my deep concern about our failure to attack more effectively racial discrimination in many areas, which acts to nullify the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in education. Residential segregation remains the last and most difficult barrier to full equality.

Therefore I have been encouraging a national effort to stimulate private housing without discrimination - Modern Community Developers. A business venture with a social goal, it will accelerate the trend toward an open housing market by making available to building groups the practical experience of successful developers of integrated housing. It will also provide additional investment in areas where projects are sound. This is an exciting and creative idea.

MCD is headed by my good friend Morris Milgram, who organized Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll, successful integrated developments in the Philadelphia area, which, when I visited them, moved me deeply. Concord Park, a community of 139 families, a majority white, has inspired similar developments nationally, including Princeton, N. J., where more than two-thirds of the families are white.

Modern Community Developers will be launched at a dinner on Tuesday, May 27th, at the Savoy Plaza Hotel in New York. There will be no stock solicitation. Charles Abrams, author of "Forbidden Neighbors," will speak.

Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson, who work together as co-chairmen of NAACP's life membership committee, will be honored with major awards on this occasion. Both are giving inspired leadership in the cause of equal housing opportunity. Scrolls of honor will be presented to four pioneers in housing integration: Algernon D. Black, David H. Scull, Marietta Tree and Robert C. Weaver.

As chairman of the national committee of sponsors of this founding dinner, I urge that you support this effort by becoming a sponsor. I assure you that this involves no obligation other than your belief.

Sincerely yours,

A Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

REPLY CARD
THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

U.S. POSTAL CARD
2 TWO CENTS 2
MARTHA WASHINGTON

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Chairman
National Committee of Sponsors
Modern Community Developers
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, N.J.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Chairman
National Committtee of Sponsors
Modern Community Developers
84 Nassau Street, Princeton, N.J.

I am very much interested in ending housing segregation, and I will be happy to serve on the National Committee of Sponsors for the founding dinner of Modern Community Developers, honoring Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson, on Tuesday, May 27, 1958 at the Hotel Savoy Plaza in New York City.

Name..

Address..

P. O. Box 544,
Nassau N.P. Bahamas
Feby. 15. 58.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph.
217 - West 125th St.
New York City.

My dear friend,

Sincerely hoping that both you and Mrs. Randolph are now well, this is to inform you that I am now back home to join the fight for freedom for our people, and first class citizenship.

No doubt you have been kept posted as to recent developments in connection with the strike. Well its now over, and Hotels opened up again. But no definite settlement as yet made to the satisfaction of our group. All matters have been referred to Government, who are now considering the same. Our Negro Political Party has asked the Colonial Office to send a Royal Commission here to investigate

Shatz

all matters including the Labour situation. We are therefore now awaiting results. A number of business places have refused to re-employ a large number of our people. Hence there are hundreds at present out of work. A very serious situation. What would you suggest?

Mr. Randal Fawkes head of the Labour Organization here has asked me to find out from you as to what you think of the idea of his making a tour of New York and perhaps Phila. to put the facts before the American public. Especially so our group. And if you can get either the Labour Unions over there, or any responsible Negro organization to extend to him

Sheet 3

an invitation to come, and arrange meetings under their auspices. I thought it a splendid idea. As the real facts surrounding the whole cause of Negro grievances here should be made known to the world. We shall now wait to hear from you as to what cause of action to take. —

I called to see you on two or three occasions before leaving New York, but you were out. I was very sorry as I wanted to talk with you about one or two things. — When are you coming to Nassau? —

With all good wishes and hoping to hear from you at an early date, and best regards to Mrs Randolph. —

I am,
Very Sincerely Yours,
Cleveland H. Reeves.

February 24, 1958

Mr. Cleveland H. Reeves
Post Office Box 544
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas

Dear Brother Reeves:

Thank you for your letter of February 15, informing me of conditions, with respect to our people in Nassau, following the strike.

I note that some of the people have not been rehired and that the president of the labor organization, Brother Fawkes, has suggested the idea of a visit to New York and Philadelphia in the interest of securing assistance. Since you want to get my opinion on this matter, may I say that I don't think that such a trip would be successful at this time because of the widespread unemployment which exists in this country today; 5 million people out of work, with no visible change of the industrial situation in sight. If conditions there get worse, I would suggest that Brother Fawkes write the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions concerning the economic plight and request financial support. I understand that the ICFTU did send financial assistance to the Bahamas Federation of Labour.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/bw

P. O. Box 544,
Nassau N. P.
Bahamas,
Feby/28/58.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph,
217-West 125th Street
New York City.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th February instant in reply to my letter concerning Mr. Fawkes trip to New York. I have informed Mr. Fawkes of your opinion in the matter, and he has in the circumstances decided to postpone his trip.

2. We are very sorry to hear of the great unemployment situation at present. And do hope that things may soon pick up. I shall keep you posted as to developments on this end. Again thanking you, and with best wishes

I am,
Very Sincerely Yours,
Cleveland H. Reeves

Box 444,
Nassau N.P. Bahama
June-14-58.

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217- West 125th Street
New York City.

Dear Friend,

Hoping that you are well, and that Mrs. Randolph is now feeling much better, this is to let you know that the Labour Union here, had a very successful anniversary celebration last week. They marched through the City over sixteen thousand strong, and with friends and well wishers the gathering numbered about eighteen to twenty thousand. It was a grand parade. They were addressed by Governor Sir Raynor Arthur, and three delegates from New York. Lawyer Randal F. Fawkes was again re-elected as President and Legal advisor. I only wish you were here to see them, and to speak

Sheet 2.

to them. A news-sheet was printed, giving the history of the strike, and what caused it. I'm mailing a copy to you under separate cover. From time to time, I have been forwarding to you files of local papers. I hope you have received them safely.

Hows the recession in New York? Has it slow down business much? It has slowed our tourist business a bit. Theres however a big building boom on at present which keep things going. And real estate is still going well. By the way, have you come across any wealthy Jew who is interested in investing in either property, or mortgage business. If so, kindly recommind me to them. I'm now in the Real Estate business in full.

P.T.O.

P. ~~4~~ 3

Both buying and selling.

Last but not least, I have asked my son Coleridge L. C. Reeves who is at Leading School in New York to come in and see you. He is trying to get a permanent Visa to remain there after graduation, at least for awhile to obtain experience &c. I would highly appreciate your kindness if theres anything you could do to help him either personally, or through some of your influential friends.

Thanking you in advance, and hoping to hear from you soon,

Faithfully yours,

Reeves

JUN 10

June 19, 1958

Mr. Cleveland Reeves
Box 544
Nassau N. P. Bahamas

Dear Brother Reeves:

Thank you for your letter of June 14th informing me of the great demonstration parade by the trade union members of Nassau and the address by the Governor. This is quite significant. No doubt it will give the workers new courage, hope, and faith in themselves to fight for their rights. In the end, they are bound to win.

I am glad to know that the economic conditions of the Bahamas are booming and I only wish that we had some Negro interests here to purchase some of the land which, no doubt, will rapidly increase in value. But it is not easy to find Negroes who will invest a little money in a good enterprise.

May I say that your son did come in to the office in reference to securing a permanent visa. We have done all that we can to help him in this respect. I hope that he may be able to get it.

I get your copies of the newspapers from time to time and enjoy them immensely. I received a copy of The Workers' Voice which I will read with interest.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Box 544,
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas,
Nov. 10th. 1958.

A. Phillip Randolph Esq.,
217-- West 125th. Street,
New York City.

My dear friend;-

It was with great joy that I have read in the Ebony October issue of where you have now been placed on the list of Negro leaders as the No. I. leader, and called the Dean of Negro leaders. Here allow me an old friend of yours to extend to you my heartiest congratulations on a well deserved and well earned place in our history.

Looking back over the years, I can well remember when I was first introduced to you in 1920 by Mr. Chandler Owen who at that time if I remember rightly, published along with you the "Crusader Magazine". At that time I accepted while living in New York attending School, the position as one of your travelling Agents, and travelled as far South as Jacksonville Fla. trying to get Negroes interested in taking out subscriptions, and also in placing "adds " in it. And here is something to remember. My first Southern subscriber was Mr. Mickey, who now operates a very large Undertaking business on Lenox Ave. between 122nd. and 121st. Street. I saw great deal of him while in New York last summer and Fall. Do you happen to know him?

Your autobiography is truly interesting, and also inspiring to read. I have read and re-read it several times. And have asked a number of our young Negro leaders to also read it. Your interviews with various Presidents must inspire and encourage any young Negro to go on, and on, when fighting for justice for his group. Right here may I ask, if you have ever had your life's work put in book form for sale? I feel sure, that thousands of copies will be sold.

I have also read with deep interest of your proposed "March on Washington" Scheme. I think such a move, would mean much in securing even greater interest in your fight for integration of Schools in the deep South. At least nothing beats a try but failure. For this most noble and thoughtful move, you have my full support and best wishes. May God bless and help you to make it a success.

To another subject, I know you would like to hear just how we are getting along down here. Well, the fight is still on. And we do intend to keep it up until victory is won. So far we are making progress. From time to time I have sent you papers to keep you in touch with local affairs. I know you have read my many letters in some of the issues sent you. Recently, I have written some very strong ones. One in connection with our local Development Board, a copy of which I am forwarding to you under separate cover. Let me know when you write again, just what you think of the letter in question.

I Hope things are going well with you at headquarters. And also that Mrs. Randolph is no worse. With all good wishes for a Very Happy and Peaceful Thanksgiving, I am,
for you and the Madam,

Sincerely your friend,

------Cleveland H. Reeves,

Cleveland H. Reeves.

November 17, 1958

Mr. Cleveland H. Reeves
Box 544
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas

My dear Friend:

Thank you for your letter of November 10, 1958 with comments on the article appearing in EBONY MAGAZINE concerning myself. I am glad that you liked it.

Well do I remember the time you recalled when Chandler Owens and I published not the CRUSADER MAGAZINE but the MESSENGER MAGAZINE. Those were the days of great struggle and racial troubles.

Relative to my autobiography, may I say that I am writing one now and hope to have it published sometime in the not too distant future.

I am glad to note your interest in the Youth March on Washington, D. C. for integrated schools. This was perhaps one of the most notable and far-reaching demonstrations for a great moral purpose ever staged in this country. We are looking forward to staging another march in 1959 with 50,000 youth. Such a demonstration will be a challenge to the conscience of America and the world on the racial problem.

May I hope that you and your family are doing well. With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/b

May 13, 1958

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
211 East 62nd Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Thank you for your letter of April 30, 1958 indicating your inability to serve as a sponsor and attend the dinner on May 27th.

Knowing the many responsibilities and services you render to the cause of human freedom one can fully appreciate your inability to attend some affairs and disinclination to attach yourself to too many movements.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

[illegible]

Sept. 28, 1958. 135 St. N.W.

Dear Phil:

Please know that it is always a pleasure to see and talk with you. I had a most delightful two weeks in your city. There is so much to do and see making it not only pleasurable but stimulating, also. Really I can't remember when I have enjoyed a vacation so much - and I'm sure it was because most of my activities were unscheduled thus avoiding the tensions that go with taking dead lines.

Enclosed is an editorial. I thought you would be interested. There has been great concern here about the incident. For some reason I don't seem to get rid of the idea that it was inspired and plotted by one of those Southern Hate Groups. His recovery is going to be a tedious thing, but I'm sure he will make it.

I enjoyed my visit with Mrs. Randolph so much. I was surprised but so pleased to see her looking so well. In fact, I think she looks better than at any time I have seen her. Having the television in her room is a wonderful idea. It consumes time in entertainment, rather than self pity - and she enjoyed the programs so much.

Sis is spending the week-end at the cottage in Maryland. It is a grand place to relax. I hope to get one or two week-ends before it gets real cold. Wish you could go down for a week and I'm sure Lou would be delighted.

Mom is well and sends her best regards. We hope to see you when you are here.

As ever

Sincerely,

[illegible]

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RUQ 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= OCT 10 '58=

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL SPELLMAN
= 452 MADISON AVENUE= NEW YORK CITY=

IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS I WISH TO EXPRESS OUR GREAT SORROW AND GRIEF UPON THE PASSING OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII WHO WAS A GREAT FRIEND AND CHAMPION OF THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR AND WAS DEDICATED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN FAMILY, CREATED BY GOD, AND OF WHICH ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS= HIS HOLINESS MAINTAINED AN UNMISTAKABLE POSITION OF OPPOSITION

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Class of Service
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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TO RACISM AND COLONIALISM. THE ENEMIES OF HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH= INTL. PRESIDENT=
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS...

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE
452 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22

October 27th, 1958

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have received your message of sympathy on the occasion of the death of His Holiness, Pope Pius XII. I am deeply moved by your thoughtfulness and grateful for your kindness.

With best wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

F. Cardinal Spellman
Archbishop of New York

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
International President,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 West 125th Street,
New York

OCT 28 REC'D

218 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.
April 28, 1958

The Editor
New York Times Magazine
New York 36, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have just read Miss Elspeth Huxley's scholarly and nearly plausible article on Kenya. Understandably, Miss Huxley speaks for the Kenya settler and white paramountcy.

The basic issues in Colonial Africa are not the safeguards for the minorities nor stabilization of foreign capital, but rather minority domination, special priviliges, immunities, color and cheap labor.

At this very moment Tom Mboya, Miss Huxley's chief target, and six of his colleagues in the legislature are to stand trial in Nairobi on two charges. These charges relate to conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor and publishing defamatory material. It is unlikely that a white man in Kenya would be tried on the alleged charges against these men.

I am in agreement with Miss Huxley on one point, that is the potential effect of Radio Cairo or Radio Moscow in East and Central Africa. I have listened to these programs in East Africa, and more important I have listened to the comments of people in the community after the program. It is a very effective program. It imposes an added burden on the present moderate leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika and Tom Mboya in Kenya. These men want to see their countries develop along constitutional and democratic lines but the myopia and intransigence of the respective governments may make this impossible. The attitudes of these governments are the secret weapon of Radio Moscow.

The New York Times could render a world service by presenting the case of the African by an African. This of course is not the first time I have presented such an idea to the Times.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Maida Springer

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

October 30, 1958

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

I was very pleased to learn that your March for Integration went as well as it did. I was sorry that my sickness kept me from having any part in it. And I was, of course, outraged by the failure of the White House to receive any of you. Anyway it was a job worth doing.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas
S.

NT:S Norman Thomas

OCT 31 REC'D

426

November 5, 1958

Dear Norman:

Thank you for your letter of October 30, 1958. I am glad that you liked the Youth March for Integrated Schools in Washington, D. C. on October 25. It was a tremendous success.

Of course, we were all disappointed that the President did not receive the youth delegation.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Randolph

The Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Ave. MUseum 3-2000
PITTSBURGH 19, PA.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT AND TREASURER

May 19, 1958

A. Philip Randolph, Chairman
National Committee of Sponsors
MCD Founding Dinner
84 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Randolph:

First of all, may I say that it was indeed a pleasure to have listened to your very excellent speech at the Summit Meeting in Washington on May 12. I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to congratulate you then but may I do so now.

The real purpose of this letter, however, is to express my sincere regret that I will not be able to attend the dinner on Tuesday, May 27, at which time Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson will receive awards. These two men are most deserving and it is nice to have the service they have rendered recognized in this manner.

If there is any obligation connected with my serving as a sponsor, please do not hesitate to let me know and I will be very glad to take care of it. I know the dinner will be quite a success.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Jessie M. Vann
(Mrs. Robert L. Vann)

Mrs.RLV:es

[illegible] 1958

THE Empress ON THE OCEAN BETWEEN 43RD AND 44TH STREET
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Thanks
Sincerely
[illegible]

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

B-4

1959

THE COUNCIL
OF
THE CITY OF NEW YORK
CITY HALL

EARL BROWN
COUNCILMAN, 21ST SENATORIAL DISTRICT
706 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
NEW YORK 31, N.Y.

July 22, 1959.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Louis Martin, who, as you know is in Nigeria, has asked me to send to you the enclosed memorandum. I think that it is very interesting.

I heard about your meeting last Saturday at the Theresa Hotel about the possible formation of a Negro labor committee. I would like to talk to you about your idea at your convenience. As you know, I have long been interested in trade unionism both as a reporter and a union member.

My kindest personal regards and a pleasant summer.

Sincerely yours,

Earl

Earl Brown

Mr. Philip A. Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

July 31, 1959

Mr. Earl Brown
706 Riverside Drive
New York 31, New York

Dear Earl:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter enclosing memorandum from Louis Martin, now in Nigeria. I am glad to get this.

Relative to the formation of a national Negro Labor Committee, may I say that we held a conference in the Statler Hotel, Saturday, July 18, for the purpose of discussing the possibility of establishing such a committee, and there was general agreement that such a committee should be formed. We are now in the process of working this out.

I know of your interest in the labor movement as a union member and a reporter. I read your column with profit and interest from week to week.

Sometime when convenient, I will be glad to have a chat with you about the committee.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

May 5, 1959

The Honorable John D. Holland
Mayor of Vicksburg
Vicksburg, Mississippi

Dear Mayor Holland:

I just finished reading with interest your statement in the Detroit Times, via United Press International news service, concerning the national March On Mississippi that we have scheduled for Veteran's Day, November 11, 1959.

You were quoted, in part, as saying "........there have been instances of race riots and other mass violence in Michigan, which would seem in the need of a demonstration of national concern".

It is true, Mayor Holland, that we had such a disturbance in 1943, but I hasten to add that it was not a peaceful demonstration. Persons on neither side won and neither would wish a repetition of the same. On the other hand, I feel the peaceful demonstration we are planning will discourage bloody battles such as we had in Detroit and unlawful and un-American acts that have been staged in Mississippi recently.

Furthermore, the demonstration of 1943 in Michigan does not justify similar action in Mississippi. We owe it to our country to put down such un-American demonstrations everywhere.

Last year I toured the Orient for a period of four months. Very recently I returned from a three month visit of several African nations. I feel it essential to tell you and other responsible leaders - both Negro and white - that the tide is turning, and turning fast.

Our country needs more friends at home and abroad to cope with the fast approaching time when all men will be free.

Mississippi must do its share to help strengthen American prestige; and public officials like you have a key obligation in seeing that this important job is done.

I hope, therefore, that you and other citizens of Mississippi will receive us in the democratic spirit in which we are coming and the good will take precedence over the evil; and out of this peaceful demonstration will come a better understanding between the races.

Sincerely,

Charles C. Diggs, Sr.

CCD:dv

MAY 8 REC'D

DIGGS ENTERPRISES
INCORPORATED
671 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

TEmple 3-2333

CHARLES C. DIGGS, SR.
PRESIDENT

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR. 1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER JONES TREASURER
RICHARD H. AUSTIN SECRETARY
E. EARTHMON FORT CHRM., ADVISORY BOARD

May 5, 1959

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am mailing you another copy of a telegram I sent to Governor James P. Coleman. I have gotten quick response from the press, television, radio and the people.

We are beginning to organize for the march that I predict will be very successful.

I am writting you that you act as co-chairman of this affair because of your knowledge and experience in such things and your unselfish loyalty to your people and country. I am just beginning to get the committee together and before I do I wish to hear from you concerning your acceptance.

My trip to Africa revealed among other things that we are not hitting the iron where it is hot and therefore, not making the fast progress that we should.

I would appreciate any ideas you may have in connection with this demonstration. Personally I will march in the front line and do everything possible so that the march will be a credit to ourselves and America in general.

Sincerely,

Charles C. Diggs Sr.

Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
President

CCD:dv

Encl.

MAY 8 REC'D

May 8, 1959

Mr. Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
Diggs Enterprises
671 Mack Avenue
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. Diggs:

This will acknowledge your letter of May 5th to Mr. A. Philip Randolph, and copy of your telegram to Governor Coleman of Mississippi, concerning a march to Vicksburg, Mississippi, November 11, 1959.

Mr. Randolph is presently away from the city and has not had an opportunity as yet to read your communications. However, he is expected to return the middle of next week and I shall bring your letter to his attention immediately upon his return to the office.

Very truly yours,

Bernice Wilds
Secretary to Mr. Randolph

May 13, 1959

Mr. Charles C. Diggs, Sr.
Diggs Enterprises
671 Mack Avenue
Detroit 1, Michigan

Dear Mr. Diggs:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of May 5, 1959, which has come to my attention upon my return to New York from Chicago.

I note your plan to stage a march on Mississippi and your request for me to serve as co-chairman. May I say that because of the fact that I have my hands full with problems of our organization, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, including a national representation election, as well as problems of health, I regret that I will be unable to serve as co-chairman of the proposed march to Mississippi.

Having had quite some experience developing marches on Washington, I am inclined to think that your proposed march would be more effective were it composed chiefly of Mississippi Negroes rather than an assortment of Negroes from all over the country. A demonstration of Mississippi Negroes would have more weight with the Government and the white people of Mississippi and the public at large than would a group of Negroes from various states in the Union. This is my first reaction to your idea of a march.

Second, I would suggest that you give a lot of time to the mechanics of the organization of the march, for in order for it to be impressive you should have at least five thousand people involved.

May I wish you much success with your effort.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

DIGGS ENTERPRISES
INCORPORATED
671 MACK AVENUE
DETROIT 1, MICHIGAN

TEMPLE 3-2333

CHARLES C. DIGGS, SR.
PRESIDENT

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR. 1ST VICE-PRESIDENT
CARTER JONES TREASURER
RICHARD H. AUSTIN SECRETARY
E. EARTHMON FORT CHRM., ADVISORY BOARD

October 22, 1959

The Honorable James P. Coleman
Governor of Mississippi
State Capitol Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Governor Coleman:

This letter is to inform you that the national March on Mississippi that had been scheduled to take place on November 11, 1959, has been postponed for the time being.

It was my plan, as I informed you earlier this year, to have Americans of all races, creeds and colors converge on Vicksburg on Veterans Day as a peaceful protest against Mississippi's glaring record of civil rights injustices. Although I have been contacted by many people who wanted to participate in this crusade, I was influenced to cancel it by two developments.

My first reason grew out of a suggestion by Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, the well known Negro labor leader, that the committee helping me organize the march should be composed of Negroes living in Mississippi. I followed Mr. Randolph's recommendation and found that some Mississippians, whose opinions I respect most highly, felt that the time is not ripe for a mass demonstration of this type. It seems that they, in spite of impressions held outside of your state, are hopeful that democratic principles soon may be honored in Mississippi.

Secondly, I was made aware of a rumor that the protest group would be stopped by your state troopers at the Mississippi line after it had traveled from Memphis. The likelihood that a peaceful mission might be transformed into a violent encounter by this action did much to bring about my decision.

Since the March on Mississippi is an idea that has won the enthusiastic approval of a great many fair minded Americans from coast to coast, I am sure that public feeling can be depended on to determine its date in the future.

Very truly yours,

Chas. C. Diggs, Sr.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, SR.

CCDSR/cg

OCT 26 REC'D

January 6, 1959

Dear Martin:

Just a word of remembrance and to congratulate you upon the splendid letter you write to David Dubinsky concerning the work and need of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

I certainly hope your letter will receive favorable consideration by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. It is one of the outstanding liberal trade unions in the country and is friendly to causes such as the one you represent.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Martin Luther King
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue
Montgomery 4, Alabama

STANLEY D. LEVISON
6 EAST 39TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.

MUrray Hill 4-2932

May 20, 1959

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil,

Bayard and I reflected deeply on our discussion about the Mississippi situation. We feel the conclusion we reached was eminently sound and needs to be carried forward. There is a great deal of strong feeling on the part of the man in the street as well as by many leading elements that too little is being done by our leadership in a challenging situation. Indeed, the intense feelings about the issue of the use of force and the whole Monroe, North Carolina affair reflect the frustration of so many that no effective expression has been given.

The fact that Roy went to Mississippi is good. He should be praised for this act of leadership. It therefore occured to us that you could both congratulate him and advance our proposal at the same time. We have drafted a suggested letter. If you like it, the earlier it gets off to him, the better.

I hope you've been well. All of us felt we had a wonderful Youth March meeting last week with most impressive representation, particularly since this was a post-event meeting.

Warmest regards,

Stanley

Stanley D. Levison

SDL:cj

Enclosure

MAY 21 REC'D

MAY 21 REC'D

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RFR 1 N L CHG BROTHERHOOD OCT 29 1959=

GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT= AFL- CIO=
815 SIXTEENTH ST N W = WASHINGTON D C =

REPLY YOUR TELEGRAM CONCERNING EXONERATION OF LOCAL 21392, LOCAL 24411, AND LOCAL 20572 FROM PAYMENT OF PER CAPITA TAX INCREASE FOR THREE MONTH PERIOD= I AM IN ACCORD WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATION TO WAIVE PAYMENT OF TAX FOR THREE MONTHS BY SAID LOCAL UNIONS.= A PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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NBH117 LONG PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC OCT 23 NET=

1959 OCT 23 PM 8 01

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=
217 WEST 125 ST RM 301=

ACCORDING TO AFL-CIO CONSTITUTION AND THE RULES GOVERNING DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS QUOTE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MAY EXONERATE ANY DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNION FROM THE PAYMENT OF PER CAPITA TAX OR ASSESSMENTS DUE TO THE FEDERATION FOR ANY MONTH UPON ITS BEING SHOWN TO THE S SATISFACTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL THAT GOOD CAUSE THEREFORE EXISTS END QUOTE. I HAVE BEFORE ME REQUESTS FROM THREE DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS ASKING THAT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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THE INCREASE IN PER CAPITA TAX BE WAIVED FOR A THREE MONTH PERIOD. DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNION 21392, GERING, NEBRASKA, IS IN THE MIDST OF CAMPAIGN SESSIONS WHICH WOULD CREATE A TERRIFIC HARDSHIP IN THIS RIGHT TO WORK STATE DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNION 24411, BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT, HAS JUST COMPLETED A TWO WEEKS STRIKE RECEIVING NO STRIKE BENEFITS AND ITS TREASURY HAS BEEN DEPLETED AND DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNION 20572 TOLEDO, OHIO, HAS GONE THROUGH MANY ARBITRATION CASES WHICH HAS BEEN COSTLY TO THIS LOCAL UNION. I RECOMMEND THAT EXONERATION OF PER CAPITA TAX INCREASE BE GRANTED TO THE AFOREMENTIONED LOCAL UNIONS FOR A THREE MONTH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PERIOD. AWAITING AN EARLY REPLY=

GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT AFL CIO=

OCT 26 REC'D

24411 20572 ALSO 21392=..

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240

409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

September 25, 1959

To -
The Hon. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO (in convention at)
San Francisco, California

Please let me know right away what day you will be coming through Chicago on your return from the convention in San Francisco.

I feel it is quite urgent you and I get together in view of certain reported developments as carried in the newspapers here.

Sincerely,

Chandler
Chandler Owen

Encl
Chgo Tribune 9/24/59

OCT 5 REC'D

Chicago Daily Tribune
Thursday, September 24, 1959
F Part 1–Page 17

AFL-CIO TURNS DOWN RIVAL TO HOFFA'S UNION

Refuses Also to Curb Racial Bias

BY SEYMOUR KORMAN
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

San Francisco, Sept. 23—The AFL-CIO convention Wednesday turned down a proposal to form a rival teamsters union free of James R. Hoffa's control. It also refused to set a deadline on when two railway unions must erase discrimination against Negroes.

Aside from these controversial issues, which provoked more than three hours of uproarious debate, the delegates approved a recommendation that internal disputes between unions be settled by arbitration with "meaningful sanctions" — possibly expulsion — for unions refusing to comply.

Carey Attacks Hoffa

James R. Carey and Al Hartnett, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the Electrical Workers union, assailed their colleagues for failure to help the rank and file of the teamsters union clean out the corrupt elements headed by Hoffa, the union president.

They shouted that it was not enough to expel the union from the AFL-CIO, as was done two years ago, and then expect the teamsters to cleanse themselves in the face of threats from Hoffa and Harold Gibbons, his chief lieutenant.

"In the CIO, before we merged with the AFL," said Carey, 'we expelled 23 per cent of the membership because of corrupt communist influence. Our responsibility didn't end on expulsion. We gave the decent people in the expelled groups other unions to join.

"The AFL expelled the International Longshoremen's association in 1953, then helped clean it up, and took it back yesterday. The AFL-CIO expelled the bakers' union in 1957 and started a new union in that field. So we can't leave the expelled teamsters alone with their problems."

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, said that the teamster situation differed from that of the other unions mentioned.

He Poses Question

"The question I ask officials of a teamster local wanting a new charter is, 'Can you get out and live?'" Meany said. "Hoffa and Gibbons have said they will destroy any union that leaves them within 24 hours.

"It is the part of wisdom not to attempt to charter a new teamsters union. Maybe this situation will change and maybe not. We have to mark time until forces inside the teamsters can get rid of some of these bad people, and we get a situation to bring the union back into the family."

The racial discrimination issue was raised by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who assailed the "lily white" restrictions in the constitutions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

Notes Past Promises

Randolph noted that when the firemen and trainmen unions were admitted to the fused to set a deadline on when two railway unions must erase discrimination against Negroes.

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Notes Past Promises

Randolph noted that when the firemen and trainmen unions were admitted to the AFL-CIO two years ago their officers promised to consider removal of the color bar clauses which conflict with the AFL-CIO constitutional provision against racial discrimination. The color bars have not been broken, Randolph said, and he asked expulsion of the two unions from the national labor organization if they do not comply within six months.

Randolph's resolution was changed, however, by the AFL-CIO to call for compliance by the two unions at the "earliest possible date."

Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, and 27 vice presidents of the AFL-CIO were reelected without opposition for two year terms.

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240

409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Sept. 15, 1959

Dear Randolph: Thanks for the introduction the other day. Glad to see you looking so well. I want to see you before you go back to New York so when you come through, let me know. I'll come by your hotel or you may come by mine. In the event you are not stopping over, then I'll meet you at the train. Wire me or write.

You got good publicity in the papers yesterday. The Defender carried your picture.

Hastily but sincerely,

Chandler

September 29, 1959

Mr. Chandler Owen
Chandler Owen & Associates
400 Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Chandler:

Thank you for your letter of September 15, 1959 suggesting that we have a chat on my return from San Francisco.

I am sorry that I did not have a chance to wire or write you so that you could meet me at the train since I did not stop over in Chicago.

However, I will be coming back out to Chicago the early part of October and will give you a ring.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240
409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Oct. 6, 1959

Dear Randolph: Thanks for your letter — You got a good press here both in our Negro and white papers. We must fight eternally.

I have several things to take up with you — all of vital interest — and good. Also I want for a few weeks $250. As the enclosed vouchers will show — I do public relations for R. R. Donnelley on a fee client basis. They send in their semi-annual checks always before Xmas. This one here is for $3075 plus the $500 retainer. They print Life, Time, Fortune and all the telephone books in America. If you cannot spare the whole amount, do the best you can and I'll return same promptly.

The G O P County Central Committee has just asked me to prepare a brochure for distribution — 200,000 for Chicago alone — entitled 100 Years of NEGRO Emancipation at a fee of $3000. I should complete it in 3 weeks. Kindest regards.

(Please return vouchers.)

Sincerely, Chandler

OCT 8 REC'D

October 14, 1959

Dear Chandler:

I received your letter with the enclosed vouchers which I am returning.

I note your interest in getting $250.00 for a few weeks. I am sorry I cannot help you to this extent but you know Lucille has been ill for practically ten years. She is not able to walk and, of course, this is quite a financial problem.

I am sorry I can't help you as you suggest but I am sending you $50.00.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

Mr. Chandler Owen
409 Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240

409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Oct. 17, 1959

Dear Randolph: Thanks a million.

I am shocked to learn about Lucille. You deserve great credit for being so loyal, as is part of your nature.

Tomorrow my friend Blomgren (Swedish American) and myself are writing you about a very important matter. I'll also talk to John Johnson and Jerome Saxe, head of the Xchange National Bank. It speaks for itself, so give it your immediate attention.

Hastily but cordially,

Chandler

OCT 19 REC'D

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240

409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

October 25, 1959

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Randolph -

Andrew Carnegie once set up a $600,000 trust at 5 percent from which Booker T. Washington received $30,000 a year for the rest of his life.

Year before last, dinners were given over the country for DuBois, one of which was held here, and a sum of approximately $20,000 was raised for DuBois.

Clarence K. Streit, a Cecil Rhodes scholar and for twelve years foreign correspondent of the New York Times, authored the book "Union Now" which sold 600,000 copies at $5.00 each, giving him a gross of $3,000,000; and was given a testimonial dinner in Pittsburgh co-chairmaned by Claire Luce and Paul Mellon from which they gave Streit $200,000 for himself.

A group of us want to do something similar for you.

We want you to take some time off for your Memoirs. Having completed them we can probably get "The Randolph Story" put in moving pictures.

I have already asked Mr. Jerome Saxe, vice-president and general manager of the Exchange National Bank on LaSalle and Adams Streets in Chicago to permit his bank to be used as the depositary. All money would be made out directly to you and deposited in that bank subject only to your withdrawal or by anybody whom you may direct to act for you. I should say that Mr. Saxe of the Exchange Bank is a brother of the owner of the Saxony Hotel in Miami. You know of it because you go down there with the Board of Directors of the AFL. You therefore know it to be worth about $10,000,000.

So soon as we shall have heard from you I will go in to see John Johnson, publisher and editor of Ebony, Jet, and Tan, and ask him to be national chairman of the group. Along with him we will ask such people as Harry Belafonte, Lorraine Hansberry, T. K. Gibson, Sr., Julian Black, Dr. Theodore K. Lawless, and similar people throughout the country.

PUBLIC RELATIONS RESEARCH PUBLICITY PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN & ASSOCIATES KEnwood 6-1240

409 OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

On the back of the stationery we would put the names of sponsors somewhat like the Dean Mannion Forum group. On the back of their stationery are 720 sponsors having 6 columns with 120 to the column. We would want you to give suggestions as to any indispensable names but the most of it I, with my associates in collaboration with John Johnson, could make out. I will go into details after hearing from you and will draft the type of letter we will want to send out.

I'm sure John Johnson will give us top space in all his publications, along with other papers like the Afro-American, the Defender, and the Courier. - By the way, you are getting an excellent press, both white and colored, daily and weekly.

The leg work and the real work will be done by a Caucasian friend of mine and myself. The rest we will put to work so soon as we are ready for them. There are certain men in New York whom I can secure to cooperate better than you can. I refer to Judge Francis Rivers, Dr. Godfrey Nurse, and a number of persons with whom I have been more closely associated than you. On the whole I expect to stay in the background so as to give the outward appearance of a not-too-close interest.

Randolph, - this matter strikes me as being extremely important, and time is of the essence. While we will show the Randolph story and the tremendous leadership you have given over these last 25 or 30 years, at the same time I have back in my head the fact that you have a sick wife unable to walk for 10 consecutive years which must cost you around $1500 or more a month. I also realize we are not getting any younger, and working as hard as you do you could have a breakdown in which event your entire house would be a hospital.

This is all I need to say right now, with a closing admonition which Marc Antony gave in "Julius Caesar", - "There's a time in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries. Upon such a full sea are we now afloat and we must take the current when it serves, or lose our venture".

With kindest personal regards, I am

Your steadfast friend,

Chandler

CO/b

OCT 27 REC'D

November 2, 1959

Mr. Chandler Owen
409 Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Chandler:

Thank you for your letter of October 26, 1959 expressing your interest in my future security and suggesting ways and means for providing for same.

I am sure you know that I deeply appreciate your concern about the fact that I have no money and, at the same time, don't expect to get any. However, I would not think of having a movement started to raise money for me and my family. It is the lot of some people to be poor and it is my lot, which I do not have any remorse about. Besides, I am not in need of any bread but even if I were, I would not wish a movement to help me get any.

I note your reference to the movements for Booker T. Washington and DuBois. I am in a little differenct position from them since I do have a job even though I can't get rich on it. I think both Washington and DuBois deserved the support they received.

I wish you would forget about the movement you suggested since I would not wish such a movement to exist. I thought you knew that Lucille could not walk.

When I am in Chicago sometime for a day or so, I will give you a ring so we may have lunch and a chat.

With cordial good wishes and the hope that you are enjoying the best of health, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR/b

October 16, 1959

Mrs. Hilda Proctor
2088 Kuhic Avenue, Apt. #10
Honolulu 15, Hawaii

Dear Hilda:

Thank you for your interesting and witty letter of October 10, 1959.

Yes, you are quite right, Negroes look upon desegregation as a form of deracialization since they want to get away from the colored brother anyhow. This is especially true of the so-called professional and educated Negro who has some false conception that if he merely changes his name he can release himself from the past and find open sesame in future progress and luck.

Personally, I want to stick to my African heritage for I consider it glorious, majestic and challenging. I have never seen, in all my life, anywhere in the world, any specimen of manhood and womanhood superior to that of the Africans I found in various areas of Africa.

Any people without any spiritual adherence to a cultural and racial heritage are not only weak but, in my opinion, washed up so far as making a contribution to the mainstream of world culture. Just as we don't want all red roses or all white roses or all roses of any color, nor do we want mankind to be all white, all black, all brown or all yellow. In my opinion, this will never be so but, nevertheless, it is looked upon as a sort of Utopia for some people who would seek to evade the struggle for achievement by losing themselves in a melting pot of color.

Now, let me say that you get yourself back into the United States where you belong. Remember, you are one of the brethren.

Brother Meany and myself had a donnybrook but there is no basic ill-feeling because of the scrap.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

2088 Kuhio Avenue, Apt. #10
Honolulu 15, Hawaii
October 10, 1959.

Dear Phil:

When I heard you were in San Francisco, I hoped that you would run over to Honolulu for a visit and for a much needed rest.

I have been here for six months. I gave myself a birthday present of a trip over here on April 5th. I meant to stay for just a month, but each month I tell myself it will be the next that I will return to the mainland. And now I am afraid that what they call Polynesian Paralysis (laziness) has set in and I wonder, sometime, if I ever want to leave.

This is the Shangri-La, the Utopia for all the Negroes who want to forget who they are or from whence they came...and there are many who are doing just that. You are just here, as a Negro and that is that.

When Martin King was here, I told him that I thought these people had confused integration with disintegration. All of the ethnic groups have their own 'family' groups, but not the Negro. He just wants to dissolve into the melting pot and be no more.

A young father talked with me seriously about this and said.."What am I going to tell my children? They have a heritage and I want them to keep it, but most of these Negroes have taken integration to mean tossing away our rich heritage, being ashamed of it, or denying it."

Please give my best regards to Miss Wilds and tell her that I understand (of course I would not know) there are four men for every one woman out here.

Cordially,

Hilda [Proctor]

P.S. After meeting so many Negroes who wanted to forget their background, I was deeply touched last Sunday when I visited an Oriental church and for the offetory anthem they sang:

LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING

P.P.S. I read in the Honolulu paper where you "sassed" your labor president over Civil Rights.

OCT 13 REC'D

Telephone 2622 Telegraph Address: Cleveland Reeves, Bahamas P. O. Box 544

Reeves Realty
Nassau, Bahamas

June 2nd./ 59.

Dear friend;

Hoping that both you and Mrs. Randolph are as well as can be expected just a short letter to say hello and let you know that I am still thinking of youall. I have been sending you files of papers from time to time, and have in between written to you. I hope that you have been receiving letters and papers o. k.

Locally speaking, things are moving along as well as can be expected. We have had a bumper season this year so far, with over 210,000 thousand visitors, the largest number in our history. Of course, more people are travelling now than ever both white and coloured. Property on the whole has been selling good , especially so large acreage. Many, many, foreign investors are now investing in land here, and some are building new sub-divisions. Nassqu is being made really beautiful. And so often have I thought of how hard I have tried while in New York on many occasions to get our group with money to invest here . About two only have done so ,and they are very happy over their investments. I however have been reliably informed that Lawyer Clem Ransom of 209, West 125th. Street, is organizing a big Insurance Company to operate here. Plans of which will be publicly announced very soon. He was down here along with Judge Miles Paige a month ago. Do you know him? Such a Company here would I feel, have much success if operated properly, and go in for mortgage loans along with Insurance policies etc.

How are things going in New York for our people in general? Is it true that there is now a lot of unemployment among our group?

Telephone 2622 Telegraph Address: Cleveland Reeves, Bahamas P. O. Box 544

Reeves Realty

Nassau, Bahamas

At present we have very little unemployment. And mechanics, builders etc. are in great demand as there are a number of office buildings guest houses, hotels, beingnow built, and wages are very good at present. The demand for first class Accountants, book-keepers, Secretaries for Secretarial work is greater than the supply. A first class Secretary now gets as high as(£35) Thirty-five pounds, per week. With no Income tax to pay I consider such a salary as being excellent, don't you think so?

How was your march on Washington? I am hoping successful. Tell me all about it when you write again.

How is Mr. Bowe and others in your office? Tell Mr.Bowe between you and he, I am asking that you look around for a nice room for me with some nice family. I am hoping to come up very soon for a holiday, D. V. I must however know just where I am to live before coming up. I do not like hotel life if I can help it. Please do your best for me in the matter and let me know as early as possible.

A file of late papers are being forwarded to you.

With all good wishes for Mrs. Randolph and yourself,

I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Cleveland H. Reeves.

June 19, 1959

Mr. Cleveland Reeves
Post Office Box 544
Nassau, Bahamas

Dear Mr. Reeves:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of June 7th, with information concerning developments in Nassau. I am indeed glad to learn that things are moving splendidly forward and that the Negro group is moving progressively forward also, although I agree with you that it is unfortunate that Negroes are permitting good property in Nassau to be bought up by outsiders.

Relative to your securing a room with a private family when you visit New York this summer, may I say that it is extremely difficult to find a family with an available room. As a rule, if they have an available room, they have a permanent guest in it. Therefore, I can only refer you to the hotels. There are many good hotels in the downtown area that are not too expensive, and are quite comfortable.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:BW

[1959]

GRANT REYNOLDS
COUNSELOR AT LAW
20 DEPOT PLAZA
WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.
WHITE PLAINS 6-7580

NEW YORK CITY OFFICE
~~420 EAST 41ST STREET~~
~~MURRAY HILL 6-14[illegible]5~~

June 4, 1959

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York City

Dear Phil:

Please know how grateful I am for the warmth and friendliness with which you entertained my expressed ambition to become your personal attorney. I hope my case was so presented that the significance such an appointment would have for the Negro in the Legal Profession was in nowise minimized. You would find it difficult to imagine how much the Negro lawyer needs, and would be eternally grateful for thus receiving your personal benediction.

To see you again in a relaxed atmosphere, to hear your laughter again, and to exchange ideas related to the future of the Race and the nation, was indeed a rare treat. I am deeply indebted to you for the privilege. And I can think of nothing more enjoyable, and more mentally and spiritually therapeutic than to anticipate periodic sessions of this nature.

I would be deeply grateful if you would keep me informed of such developments, if any, as might lead to the possible realization of my dream.

With kindest personal regards to Mrs. Randolph, and my continued hope for your good health and good works, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Grant

Grant Reynolds

GR/das

JUN [illegible] RECD

June 5, 1959

Mr. Grant Reynolds
Counselor At Law
20 Depot Plaza
White Plains, N. Y.

Dear Grant:

Thanks a lot for your kind letter of June 4, 1959.

May I say that it was a pleasure indeed to see and have a chat with you. It brought back memories of the numerous conferences we had together during the time of our struggle against discrimination in the Armed Forces.

I will give some thought to the subject matter of our conference and talk about it with some of our representatives. I will then let you know what my decision is.

Be assured that I am greatly concerned about the progress of our Negro legal profession and am willing to do anything I can to help advance it.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

American Beauty Rose
N
NORCROSS

1112
-615
497

July 4, 1959.

Dear Phil:

This has been a very delightful week-end away from Washington's heat. The sleeping has been delightful and the sea food out of this world - when it is fresh I could eat it for every meal.

The McLaurins are here, too.

Some time when you aren't so busy it would be nice for you.

I've been planning to write since I read the May Readers Digest. For the first time of many articles that were trying to be factual I agreed with most of this one and thought it very well done - The title is a bit confusing, tho, isn't it? Bruce Minton and John Stuart spoiled me for I read and absorbed all of their chapter on you in Men Who Lead in Labor. That was before MOWM days ~~and~~ I've always been grateful for their background.

One other thing has made me very happy and that is the many acknowledgements of the fine leadership you have given to Negros of America and other parts of the world. I understand the name has great meaning for many young men in Africa. That you are getting some of the flowers while you can enjoy them and know your efforts have not been in vain, is, to me, wonder.

When are you going to write your book so we can have the record as it should be?

Take care of yourself.

As ever -
Lil

[Lillian Speight]

730-A Macon Street
Brooklyn 33, New York
December 19, 1959

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me at length on Monday, so soon after a long and tedious conference and a tiresome return trip. I am most appreciative for this consideration.

I had promised to send a small memorandum on to you on some points of our discussion which were personally concerned with my next steps after recuperation. I have not done so, but it is not out of carelessness.

As a result of your searching questions about my health, and my answers as to the doctors' opinions concerning my return to work, I later talked with Sasha and will talk with Jay on Monday. Shortly following that, I will send the memorandum as promised.

Rupert Telo was here and had dinner with us last night and told us of the inspirational and solid, factual presentation you made to the ICFTU conference.

Thank you again for your interest, and many good wishes to you and Mrs. Randolph for a pleasant holiday and continued good health.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Maida

Maida Springer

DEC 21 REC'D

January 23, 1959

Dear Norman:

Just a word to say that I listened to your address to Cooper Union in Cooper Union's great hall last night on foreign affairs.

It was brilliant in analysis and challenging in moral courage and prophesy.

Cordially,

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

May 15, 1959

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

The Socialist Call is sponsoring a series of 12 or 13 radio talks. It has been given enough money, earmarked for the purpose, to make these recordings and to send out the talks to some 40 or 50 stations but not to pay any fees. What we have in mind is a series of talks with outstanding exponents of important causes.

We want you, of course, to talk about race relations with special accent on labor's role in race relations. I would begin by recording some of the unique services you have rendered. The whole thing can only run for 13½ minutes. The recording could be arranged at a time and, I think, a place convenient to you. It ought to be fairly soon, for the series should be in order so as to place it well early in the fall.

The first recording was with Figueres of Costa Rica and went very well. I shall be awfully grateful if you can render us this service. Once before I tried something like this with a fair degree of success in the number of radio stations interested.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

Norman Thomas

MAY 18 REC'D

June 2, 1959

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

Thank you for your letter of May 15, 1959, which I have just had an opportunity to read, concerning a series of 12 or 13 radio talks being sponsored by the Socialist Call.

I note your interest in having me to make one of the talks. May I say that I will be glad to do so. If you will suggest the time, I will arrange to be available to make the recording. I think series of radio talks are constructive and necessary.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

November 6, 1959

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

As you have been told, I wrote to the Governor of New Hampshire and to the Attorney General in behalf of Willard Uphaus. I myself would be on a committee if asked, as far as the merits of the case are concerned. But I should like to know the composition of the committee. It would not help to be on a committee that was obviously fellow-travelerish. Probably Rowland Watts of the ACLU could tell you something about it. Have you asked who the other members of the committee are likely to be?

I think it would be fine for you in any case to write a letter to the Governor or the Attorney General protesting any further action against Uphaus. To imprison him for contempt for not telling the names of the people at his Fellowship Farm is a mistake.

I want to tell you how grateful I was for your coming to the dinner in Chicago and how much I appreciated your speech. I have just got back from a crowded but I hope useful trip.

As ever, yours,

NT:S

Norman Thomas

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE B-W 1960

The Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 17, 1960

A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping-Car Porters
217 West 115th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was established at a meeting in Raleigh, N. C. on April 17, 1960. The purpose of the organization is to consolidate student leadership, coordinate activities, and plan for the future.

At the June meeting in Atlanta, it was decided that this committee, representing students all over the nation, would carry its cause before political leaders of the United States. The chairman was instructed to have letters written to the platform committees of both major parties, requesting time before these committees. A delegation of four was set up and given power to speak before the platform committees should such opportunity be given.

A letter, stating the desire of the Coordinating Committee has been drafted and was sent, on June 15, to the following: Senator Thurston B. Morton, Chairman, Republican National Convention; Charles H. Percy, Chairman, Republican Platform Committee, Republican National Convention; Paul M. Butler, Chairman, Democratic National Convention; Honorable Chester W. Bowles, Chairman, Democratic Platform Committee, Democratic Convention.

The students, feeling so deeply the evil of racial segregation and believing in the principles of nonviolent direct action, have risen to the time - assuming grave responsibilities, suffering persecution, and pledging cooperation until the wrongs of injustice and prejudice are removed from our land. We feel that we have every right to speak before the Platform committees, urging strong civil rights planks and stressing our intention to continue unabated until America is actually a democracy. As we are a newly organized body, the committees may seek to determine our reliability. We are reliable and we are authentic in that we speak for students all over the nation, students seeking to see our nation become what it can be - the land of the free. That is our voice and that our reliability. We would deeply appreciate your support of us with regard to our attempt to gain hearing before these committees.

Sincerely yours,
The Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
Marion Barry
Jane Stembridge

Marion Barry, Chairman
Jane Stembridge, Office
Secretary

JUN 24 REC'D

July 5, 1960

Miss Marion Berry, Chairman
Miss Jane Stembridge, Office Secretary
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your letter of June 17, 1960 informing me of your movement and your recent decision to seek a hearing before the platform committees of the two major parties with a view to presenting your demand for a plank in the platforms designed to eliminate discrimination and segregation based upon race or color.

You may be assured that I am wholly in accord with your program and objectives, and you may call on me for whatever cooperation I may be able to give. The cause of human dignity which you represent and express is bound to win if you work hard enough and long enough.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

May 14, 1960

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have just returned from a four week field trip to the south where I talked to non- white college students about Manpower needs for the next decade, and the necessity for them to be prepared to ake advantage of current and future employment opportunities. I thought you might be interested in the enclosed clippings.

With best wishes for your continued success,

Sincerely yours,
Roberta Church
(Miss) Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave. N. W.
Washington,9, D. C.

May 18, 1960

Miss Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Roberta:

Thank you for your letter of May 14, 1960 with newspaper clippings concerning the speech you made on the importance of getting young Negroes to prepare for life in the new world of industry, as a result of the march of science, technology and industrialism.

Let me congratulate you upon your fine and timely address on this subject.

I want to take this opportunity to advise you of the Founding Convention of the Negro American Labor Council which will be held in Detroit, Michigan, May 27 -29, 1960. I would be happy to have you attend the convention as an observer. I am enclosing a copy of the Call and a few leaflets for your information.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Atlanta Daily World
Published Every Morning Except Monday

Founded August 5, 1928; Became Daily, March 13, 1932
W. A. Scott, II, Founder-Publisher, August 5, 1928, to February 7, 1934
Published Every Morning Except Monday at 210 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
TELEPHONE: JAckson 1-1459
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C. A. SCOTT ________________ Editor and General Manager

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Miss Church's Significant Speech

Miss Roberta Church, nationally esteemed political and civic figure and daughter of the late colorful political leader, Bob Church of Memphis, pointed out some very significant statistics recently in a speech delivered before the Atlanta Secretarial League.

Miss Church, who is Minority Groups Consultant for the U.S. Department of Labor, said that the labor force in this country will be enlarged by 13½ million workers during the next ten years, the largest increase in the nation's history.

At the same time the labor specialist said that one out of every ten workers is colored, but many are not used to their fullest capacities and have the highsst unemployment rate. The heaviest concentration of occupations among white workers is among the professional, technical, clerical and sales, and skilled workers; the heaviest concentration of colored workers is among unskilled, farm, and service workers, which includes a substantial number of domestic servants. Over the past twenty years, there has been some advancement of the colored worker into the skilled, clerical, and professional occupations, but there still is a long way to go, according to Miss Church. We agree.

It is clear that the long history of discriminaiton has relegated Negroes to the lowest income jobs. This same system has resulted in a class of citizens with lack of the educational or skilled qualifications to move in great numbers into the higher paying white-collar or technical jobs.

It is also clear that we must more than ever concentrate on preparing our young people to enter the skilled and professional positions. Preparation must come first. Meanwhile, every effort must be made to open up new job opportunities.

More and more, enlightened businessmen and governmental officials are becoming aware of the vast waste in a system that relegates ten per cent of its labor force to menial positions regardless of the abilities, and training, and new doors are opening every day to our young people who are prepared to take advantage of them.

With the moral forces already recognizing the unfairness of discrimination in job opportunities, the legal forces of this nation are now beginning to become effective also. Many states now have FEPC laws against job discrimination. The federal government in recent years has enacted legislation to protect the civil rights, including job discrimination in governmental agencies and contracts. Opportunities are moving forward under the leadership of the present national administration, though certainly not as fast as we would like.

But the atmosphere is being created and projected. It is in this vein that we feel that every attempt at persuasion and negotiation should be made, every approach in an atmosphere of good will, by any and all groups within our race seeking to increase job opportunities. Emotionalism and coercion can serve no useful purpose in any racial crises, economic or otherwise. Calm, intelligent persuasion and negotiation can.

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Georgia Republicans Back Open Schools And Richard M. Nixon

The meeting of the Georgia State Republican Convention, in its final session before the National Convention, geared the spirit of the old time GOP, when it came out with a vigorous platform calling for the activation of a strong two-party system in the state to the end of running and electing candidates for all positions in the gift of the people.

It also went on record calling for every effort within the gift of the state to stand firm for the maintenance of our public educational system. It was encouraging when audible amens went up as a sequel to this vigorous stand taken by the Republican platform committee. The resolution also emphasized the strengthening of our public educational system.

The county unit was not forgotten by the platform committee and the good offices and influences of the GOP were challenged to rise up and by the full performance of their duty, put an end to this practice which reduces the prestige of elections in this state.

The attendance was large and there seemed to be a studious intensification of interest in taking stock as to what faced those who are in earnest in building an active party in the state.

The convention was orderly; there seemed to be a spirit of coordination and a determination to go out and build up a real contending party in the state.

There must also have been a fuller realization of what those who wish to be recognized in party activity and party counsel must do in order to rate as such.

There also must have been a greater incentive on the part of those who are trying to build up a voter registration emphasis. No doubt there will be a renewed effort on the part of piling up a healthy registration for the next election.

After all is said and done, the startling facts come home to those who observed, that registration and voting are the factors that count. Anybody can criticize and draw conclusions, but this is a case in which something must be effectively done in order to recapture our given place in this area of the body politic.

Again, the challenge rests around the obligation of registration and voting.

Sinclair Weeks, ex-United States Senator and former cabinet member in the Eisenhower administration, set the convention in order with his keynote address which had much to do with the sentiment and policy of the convention.

His elaborate praise for the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration and his acclaim for Vice President Nixon signified the unanimous choice of the GOP not only for the party standard-bearer at the Chicago convention, but the ultimate election to the Presidency of this outstanding character come the general election in November.

Miss Roberta Church Welcomed To Our City

The coming of Miss Roberta Church, Minority Group Consultant in the United States Department of Labor, is indeed an interesting feature in this our all out struggle for more recognition and better consideration in the circles of labor and opportunities.

While Miss Church is here primarily to discuss and counsel on employment opportunities with local college students, she will appear as speaker at the Wednesday noon Hungry Club forum at the Butler Street Branch YMCA.

Here the general public will have the opportunity to meet Miss Church in person and to get the benefit of her long experience in affairs touching minority groups and what is justly due them in this modernized and highly mechanized systems in employment.

The Secretarial League, in observance of National Secretaries Day, could not have made a better choice, and this order is to be commended in its ability to bring to this occasion at

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The Secretarial League, in observance of National Secretaries Day, could not have made a better choice, and this order is to be commended in its ability to bring to this occasion at this crucial period such an outstanding personage as Miss Church.

Miss Church is the daughter of a former political leader, the late Robert R. Church of Memphis, Tenn.

With proud anticipation, Atlanta is looking forward to a gala turnout to gain the rich inspiration that this speaker will be able to bring to our ranks.

May 13, 1960

Mr. Joseph Curran
National Maritime Union
376 West 17th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Brother Curran:

I want to thank you for coming to the Martin Luther King luncheon last Wednesday. I was by no means alone in feeling that your presence there helped to heighten the significance of the occasion. Furthermore, your brief but extremely effective remarks, illustrating militant trade unionism in action on the issue of civil rights, struck exactly the right note.

I think you will agree with me that the turnout of labor leaders and the pledges and contributions made at the luncheon--coming as they did after substantial financial assistance had already been rendered by labor--all helped to dramatize for Dr. King and his co-leaders in the South the deep and vital interest of New York labor in the civil rights struggle, as well as its determination to continue giving practical support as long as the struggle lasts. Indeed, quite a number of pledges made at the luncheon were by unions which had already made several sizable contributions.

You may be interested to know that, reflecting the temper of the times and the new attitude of labor toward civil rights, District 65's contribution of $5,000, as announced by Brother Iushewitz, was merely a "first payment" --shop collections now under way have more than doubled that sum, and the shop collections for the Committee to Defend

Martin Luther King now under way in various locals of the United Packinghouse Workers promise to be even more substantial.

Once again, on behalf of the Committee, I want to thank you for the special role you played at the luncheon and to convey to you the appreciation and warm personal greetings of Dr. King.

Fraternally,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

APR/tk

May 13, 1960

Judge Hubert T. Delany
100 Williams Street
New York, New York

Dear Judge Delany:

Supplementing your conversation with Mr. Rustin, I have authorized that checks be prepared for services rendered up to May 1, 1960 by counsel in the King case.

In the light of the memorandum which Gardner Taylor and I sent you, it is understood, as you have indicated to me, that the checks would be delivered with the understanding that they apply to the total fees of $25,000 that the Committee has asked counsel to consider for handling this case in the Alabama courts.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

APR/tk

JAMES FRANKLIN ESTES
ATTORNEY AT LAW
860 VANCE AVENUE
MEMPHIS 5, TENNESSEE

December 23, 1960

A. Philip Randolph, President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125 Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Please accept thanks and appreciation for your telegram message on inspirational words to Fayette and Haywood Counties Citizens of the Negro Race.

Please accept thanks for the efforts in making this Xmas Carol a success. Mr. Ted Brown served as our National Chairman and did so with indeed distinction.

Tent City is being arranged in Fayette County. We have disignated the name of "Freedom Village". Please allow us to name a street after you. I would appreciate that you consider a special project through the Negro American Labor Council for assisting these brave warriors of freedom. I shall in the future appreciate a conference with you and your staff on a special project.

With fondest regards and a very Merry Christmas followed by a Happy and Healthful New New Year, I am,

Yours very truly,

J. F. Estes
Atty. & Councilor, Fayette
& Haywood Counties Civic &
Welfare Leagues

JFE:cvb

34 Monroe Place
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.
April 17, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Bro. Sleeping Car Porters AFL CIO
217 W. 125th
New York, NY

Dear Phil:

This is the clipping I promised you when we had lunch together recently. Sorry it's so late, but I misplaced it.

Two weeks ago I was interviewed by three men at SCAD... Mr. Peabody, the Executive Director; Mr. Sullivan of the Education Division; and Mr. Partnoy of Regulations. Although the situation seemed most promising I have heard nothing since! (Perhaps I should be a Republican!)

The other day I had lunch with Phil Weightman of COPE and heard again the amazing story of labor and the Southern sit-downs. Then I spent a day at the CORE office with Jim Robinson and Marv Rich who was at the meeting in St. Louis when I started the CORE chapter there,- fourteen years ago.

Thank you again for your helpfulness in SCAD...something may work out yet. If not, I'll try COIR.

Cordially,

Bernice

Bernice Fisher

Plain Talk

Hoffa on Integration

During his question-and-answer period in Baton Rouge, La., deep in the heart of the Southland, President Hoffa was asked this question: How does the Teamsters Union stand on the subject of integration?

A buzz engulfed the audience and Hoffa said: "Just a minute. I never ducked a question in my life." Then he answered as follows:

"I want to answer by saying first of all that I recognize only one type person in the United States and that is the American citizen. And I recognize the fact that all blood is red. And I recognize the fact that when we had a war, regardless of race, color or creed, we banded together.

"And I recognize the fact above and beyond all, that human beings, being what they are, must live together or have individuals take advantage of their separation.

"I personally have no hate in my heart for color, whether it be white, black or yellow. And I say to you that it is not a question of integration; it is a question first of whether or not we are all Americans, and second, whether or not we have a right socially to do certain things we want to do as individuals, and third, whether or not by sheer economics we must band together for self-protection to have our social rights.

"Therefore, I say to you that it is necessary to recognize that there can be no division of color, race or creed when it comes to meeting at a bargaining table with your employer. Therefore, you must forget the question of integration but recognize only one thing—that your employer doesn't hesitate to hire regardless of color.

"Those individuals, whether they're white or whether they're black, must be recognized as individuals who can win or destroy a strike, or destroy a bargaining question.

"And therefore, I say to you as an individual, I believe all men are born equal with rights, and whether I get a vote here tonight or not, I will not stand here and tell you that an individual does not have the same rights because of color.

"But I will say to you also that every individual has a right socially to determine whether he associates with one man or the other. That is his own right, but that is not the question here; this is a question of collective bargaining."

The meeting which Hoffa addressed was unsegregated.

April 26, 1960

Miss Bernice Fisher
34 Monroe Place
Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Dear Bernice:

Thank you for your letter of April 17, 1960 with clipping on Hoffa. It is interesting. Hoffa has the drive and courage to make unsegregated meetings possible and effective in his union in the South.

I am glad to know that you had an interview with representatives of SCAD. I hope something will come of it by way of putting you on the staff.

Yes, I know that you have done a lot of work for CORE in helping to give it birth in the early days.

Don't hesitate to call on me for cooperation in any efforts you plan to make to secure a place you may deem desirable.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Parents' Workshop *for* Equality *in* N. Y. C. Schools

REV. MILTON A. GALAMISON
President

260 JEFFERSON AVENUE
Brooklyn 16, New York
STerling 9-7050

September 27, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I have been greatly distressed by the manner in which the World Telegram and Sun has been handling our open school policy program. At first their attack was directed at the program itself. Recently, there has been at least three vicious editorials against the Superintendent of Schools, John J. Theobald, and the open school policy. This, of course, is not a new direction for the World Telegram and Sun to take. The paper has been traditionally reactionary and has harmed the cause of progress in this city beyond imagination. It only happens that now we are confronted with a newspaper, printing vicious editorials, which are harmful to city policy and could disrupt an integration movement taking place in an orderly fashion.

It is my feeling that we owe it to Dr. John J. Theobald, the Board of Education and to ourselves, to express our contempt for this practice and to stop it if possible. To this end I am desirous of requesting of the Mayor's Commission on Intergroup Relations that they convene a meeting of organization leaders and those responsible for the editorial policy of the World Telegram and Sun. Before taking any action, however, I would very much like to know what your feeling is in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Milton A. Galamison

Milton A. Galamison, President

SEP [illegible]

[illegible]

I am in full accord with ~~[illegible]~~ the Bd of Ed's Open enrollment program. The attacks of the World Telegram and Sun are ~~unprincipled~~ unwarranted and should be openly answered.

Your suggested meeting of organization leaders and those responsible for editorial policy of this newspaper would perhaps bring about a sympathetic understanding of the program. To this end a fact sheet dealing with specific points of contention should be forwarded to organization leaders prior to the meeting so as to prepare them in advance. There should be on our part almost unanimous support for the program.

I feel that the presentation of our point of view should not imply that we are questioning the paper right to editorialize on public issues but rather that the public responsibility of a newspaper to support the Supreme Court decisions and its implications rise above any sectarian or personal differences to the contrary.

October 6, 1960

Reverend Milton A. Galamison
260 Jefferson Avenue
Brooklyn 16, New York

Dear Reverend Galamison:

I am in full agreement with you that we should support the Board of Education's open enrollment program. The attacks of the World Telegram and Sun are unwarranted and should be openly answered.

Your suggested meeting of organization leaders and those responsible for editorial policy of this newspaper would perhaps bring about a sympathetic understanding of the program. To this end, a fact sheet dealing with specific points of contention should be forwarded to organization leaders prior to the meeting so as to prepare them in advance. There should be on our part almost unanimous support for the program.

I feel that the presentation of our point of view should not imply that we are questioning the paper's right to editorialize on public issues,but rather that the public responsibility of a newspaper to support the Supreme Court decisions and its implications rise above any sectarian or personal difference to the contrary.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH OF NEW YORK
FORTY EAST THIRTY-FIFTH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-4988

DONALD HARRINGTON
JOHN PAPANDREW
Ministers

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
Minister Emeritus
RICHARD D. LEONARD
Minister of Education

August 17, 1960

Dear Phil,

Would you be at all interested in going some time this Fall to Cuba for a couple of weeks with a number of other liberal-minded men to take a look at the Cuban Revolution, talk with Fidel Castro and other leaders, perhaps offer suggestions and critical comments and reach your own conclusions? It has been suggested that the Democratic Socialist group in general has been very much on the fence so far as the Cuban Revolution is concerned and that there is a real need for some expression of opinion. What would you think of our getting together a group of a half a dozen or so for a two week trip some time this Fall?

With all best wishes, I remain

Yours cordially,

Don

Donald Szanthó Harrington

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York, New York

"KNOWING NOT SECT, CLASS, NATION, OR RACE, WELCOMES EACH TO THE SERVICE OF ALL"

September 13, 1960

Reverend Donald Harrington
The Community Church of New York
40 East 35th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Don:

I sincerely regret I have not been able to answer your letter of August 17 before now. My failure to reply was due to the fact that I have been going hither and yon in connection with the activities of the Brotherhood.

I note your interest in developing a small group of persons to visit Cuba to observe the Cuban revolution and talk with Castro and other leaders.

May I say that I think the idea is a good and constructive one, but because of the many contracts I have to revise with some thirty or more railroads this Fall, I doubt that I would be able to take advantage of this very splendid opportunity to visit Cuba. I hope that you may be able to develop this project since I think it would be helpful to American public opinion in general, and the leaders of our government in particular.

With cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

March 24, 1960

Donald Hoffman, President
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

May I take this opportunity to congratulate the National Student Association on the outstanding work it has done in supporting the Southern student sit-ins. Your immediate reaction to the needs of the Alabama State students was especially heartwarming.

I wish to offer my sincerest hopes for continued success in this work, as well as in your efforts to bring the real sit-in story to the campus. The commitment to the civil rights struggle on the American campus, stimulated in large part by your efforts, has been a major source of encouragement to the Southern students involved.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH
OF NEW YORK

MINISTER EMERITUS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

STUDY
TEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 17, 1960

Dear Randolph:

I have been reading this morning the current issue of Clair Cook's excellent leaflet, "Walking Together", and I note with immense satisfaction, but with no surprise at all, the move you are making for a crusade inside Labor for the advancement of Labor's civil rights program. This announcement reminds Cook, as it does me, of your historic "March on Washington" 'way back in 1941 which led to events of prime historical importance. Now you are doing it again, in a somewhat different field, but with the same spirit and to the same end.

What a grand fighter you are, how great a leader in Labor's cause and in the cause of emancipation for the Negro and for civil liberties wherever and whenever they are brought in danger. Cook calls attention to the fact that you are now seventy-one years old. But what does that mean in your case? Not old age, but renewed youth. I am eighty years of age and forced to retirement by illness, but my heart is with you as it has been through all our years together.

Here are my best wishes and most earnest prayers for the success of this latest crusade of yours. Victory has a way of answering your summons promptly and effectively. I know that it will now do so again - and yet again.

With highest regards, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

John Haynes Holmes

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York City, N. Y.

as

JUN 20 REC'D

July 6, 1960

Dear Dr. Holmes:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation for your letter of June 17, with kindly comments on my humble efforts to rid the labor movement of the evil of discrimination and segregation based upon race or color.

You have made a notable and noble contribution to the cause of human dignity as one of the truly great liberals of our time. Our American culture is much finer because of your having lived to help give it challenge. I hope that you will have many, many more years of life and living which will serve as an inspiration to our youth who must develop the courage to fight for a world of freedom, dignity, peace and plenty.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Dr. John Haynes Holmes
10 Park Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

STRAIGHT = JANUARY 29 1960=

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING
C/O DR. W. E. ANDERSON
DEXTER AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA =

IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND MYSELF, PERSONALLY, I WISH TO EXPRESS OUR HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS, FELICITATIONS AND GREETINGS TO YOU UPON THE OCCASION OF THE SALUTE TO YOU AND MRS. KING.

AS ONE WHO HAS WORKED CLOSELY WITH YOU IN THE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

STRUGGLE FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY. I WANT TO APPLAUD YOU AS A GREAT AMERICAN, A GREAT LEADER, AND A GREAT MAN.

THE HISTORY-MAKING PROTEST AGAINST JIM CROW ON THE BUSES OF MONTGOMERY, UNDER THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE, WILL EVER LIVE IN THE BOOK OF MEMORY OF LOVERS OF JUSTICE, GOODWILL AND SOCIAL RIGHTEOUSNESS.

UNBORN GENERATIONS, NOT ONLY OF NEGROES BUT OF ALL AMERICANS, WILL BE BETTER BY VIRTUE OF YOUR HAVING LIVED.=

FRATERNALLY AND SINCERELY,
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

MEMORANDUM: A CONFIDENTIAL REQUEST

January 13, 1960

TO: Mr. A. Phillip Randolph

FROM: Dr. Wm. E. Anderson, Vice-Chairman, Deacon Board
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama

SUBJECT: A Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King

Because of the urgency inherent in the circumstances, I am violating a propriety by sending you this communique in the form of a memorandum in lieu of a personal letter. I entreat you to overlook the impropriety and give your immediate attention and consideration to the request.

Dr. Martin Luther King has tendered his resignation as Pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, effective February 1, 1960. On the eve of his departure, Sunday, January 31, 1960, the membership has scheduled "A SALUTE TO DR. AND MRS. KING" as one aspect of appreciation for the most excellent service which they have rendered to this community.

We hope to present during the program a book of telegrams from Dr. King's close friends with whom he has been associated and those who know something of his struggle to achieve for his people freedom, equality of opportunity, and human dignity.

The request to you is that you send a telegram of any length you desire. Your message will be bound in a book and presented as a part of the "Salute."

In order to preserve the surprise element please address your telegram to Dr. Martin Luther King, c/o Dr. W. E. Anderson, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.

I take this opportunity to express the grateful appreciation of the Dexter membership for your cooperation in this our venture.

hj

JAN 25 REC'D

April 27, 1960

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

Just a word of remembrance and to congratulate you upon the great role you are playing in behalf of freedom and human dignity for the people of color in particular and Americans in general.

I know that you are greatly burdened with responsibilities at this time but I want to suggest that you attend the Award Ceremonies of the Hotel and Club Employees Union Local #6 which is happy to count you among its awardees for the great service you are rendering for the cause of human freedom.

This affiar will take place June 2, 1960, at 7:00 p.m., at Union Headquarters, 305 West 44th Street, New York City. Prior to the ceremony there will be a reception in the Hotel Manhattan for the award winners and honored guests. This reception will begin at 4:30 p.m.

I hope you may find it convenient to participate in this occasion.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Martin Luther King, Jr.
407 Auburn N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Oct. 20, 1960

Dear Friend:

I have dictated this letter to you from the Fulton County Jail in Atlanta. Thirty five students are imprisoned here with me merely because we sought equal treatment at a lunch counter. It is difficult to prophesy what tomorrow will bring. With sufficient national pressure we may be released soon. Without it, we may remain in jail indefinitely.

This, however, is but one facet of our struggle. Recently, we of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, experimented with a new technique; large groups of Negroes in twelve southern cities marched to the registrar's office and demanded they be put on the voting rolls. They warned evasive officials that they would stand in the office until their lawful rights were granted. Thus was born the "stand-in" for voter registration.

Only a one day demonstration was intended - a foray to ascertain what delaying devices would be used to deny us our rights. In one community in Tuskeegee County a registration proceedure designed for Negro applicants required four hours for completion of the application. Based on this experience, and various others, the "stand-in" forces are now planning large scale "stand-ins".

We who are organizing these significant efforts are fully aware that our actions may be countered, as in the past, with brutal violence. Beatings, bombings and even cold blooded murders have been used to prevent Negro registration. On October 15, our field secretary, Mr. Blake, while working on voter registration in Shreveport, La., was fired at from a speeding car. The bullet missed his head by inches. But he drove on to continue his work. Again and again the Negro people, on their determined march to freedom, have answered such attacks with a courage which awes even their enemies.

But courage, determination, even willingness to risk death do not guarantee victory in this struggle. Funds are needed for legal defense, for the care of families of victims, for educational materials and for food for those "standing-in".

Contribute now - today - to our many-sided fight! Share in the coming great triumph of Democratic Rights and Human Dignity!

Please contribute as generously as you can. Every contribution - even the smallest - is tangible evidence to those who are making the deepest sacrifices for our common objectives, that others, in their own way, are in the fight with them.

This is a critical appeal in a crisis period. Make today significant for freedom with your contribution. With my warmest personal appreciation of your past help and in anticipation, I am,

Sincerely

Martin L. King Jr.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

P.S. Please make checks payable to Reverend Ralph Abernathy, Treas.
(Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

150

RFR 2 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= SEPT 19 1960=
DAVID MCDONALD=PRESIDENT=
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA=
CLARIDGE HOTEL= ATLANTIC CITY N J=

NUMBER OF HEADS OF NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS HAVE FORMED PROJECT TO INCREASE REGISTRATION FOR VOTING IN COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION BY ONE MILLION= CAMPAIGN WILL BE MADE IN INDUSTRIAL STATES THROUGH NEGRO PRESS, CHURCHES AND HOMES AND WILL COST CONSIDERABLE MONEY= REQUEST YOUR UNION MAKE CONTRIBUTION FOR SAME= WE ARE TRYING TO RAISE FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS= PRINCIPAL COMMITTEE FOR PROJECT COMPOSED OF REV MARTIN L. KING. ROY WILKINS AND MYSELF=

FRATERNALLY , A PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE COMPANY WILL A

Make copy for Bayard Rustin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1960

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your telegram concerning the recent demonstrations in Alabama. The President appreciated your wiring him about this matter.

In answer to questions about this subject at his press conference yesterday, the President said: "Well, it's difficult....... to give a sweeping judgment. Some are unquestionably a proper expression of a conviction of the group which is making them; others probably can be otherwise classified.

"Now, let me make one thing clear. I am deeply sympathetic with the efforts of any group to enjoy the rights, the rights of equality that they are guaranteed by the Constitution. I do not believe that violence in any form furthers that aspiration, and I deplore any violence that is exercised to prevent them -- in having and enjoying those rights. So, while I don't want to make any -- any judgment because I am not in a position to, I know about these as they come just briefly to my attention. I do not know what all of them are. I do know, though, that when, if a person is expressing such an aspiration as this in a perfectly legal way, then I don't see any reason why he should not do it....

".......I think there ought to be bi-racial conferences in every city and every community of the South, which would be much better than trying to get up here and direct every single thing from Washington. I am one of those people that believes there is too much interference in our private affairs and, you might say, personal lives already. And I would like to diminish rather than increase it......."

Sincerely,

Gerald D Morgan

Gerald D. Morgan
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th
New York, New York

MAR 18 REC'D

120 Hamilton Park
Columbus 3, Ohio
April 5, 1960

Oh, Philip,

How proud you must be these days! I am! My heart swells with joy and thanksgiving and deep humility for the part which I was permitted by God to play in pioneering today's events and results.

But to you, dearest Philip, goes the largest credit! The ideas which you espoused, the

"crackpot, futile, ridiculous"...
ideas! bless you for them!
bless you for standing firm
when reactionary, frightened
blacks and whites scorned
you!

And it is our youth, who consciously or unconsciously, absorbed our example who have taken up the torch "be theirs to hold it high!..."

I always said, if you recall, that when the Negro decided he would rather be a dead free man than a live slave, then and only then, would he _be_ free. For often merely the willingness to die and a display of the courage to face death, if need be, will shatter the bigot without a shot being fired. On the other hand if he is goaded into killing ~~that very~~ act is his ultimate undoing as history has shown, eh?

Most of us, like Sayle, Dick Parrish and I, have been personally forgotten, but the things for which we fought so long, often by your side, are finally becoming realities, thank God.

I am deeply and sincerely proud to have fought in such distinguished company.

We lost many battles, but God has granted us all the privilege of seeing the dawn of victory, the ultimate winning of the war when all men will walk this earth in individual dignity, judged only by his own ability and capacity to command such dignity.

It will soon be your seventy-third birthday. Happy Birthday, my darling Philip, and in your words I "Forward." always,

Iona Morris

April 21, 1960

Dear Iona:

Thank you for your letter of April 5, 1960 recalling the struggle of Negroes in Harlem and throughout the country for civil rights back in the days of the New Deal.

You are quite right when you say that these were the pioneering days and they have bore fruit.

Layle Lane is in Mexico and Dick Parrish is here in New York. Dick is in the office everyday helping to build the Negro American Labor Council which will hold its Founding Convention in Detroit, May 27, 28 and 29.

I am very glad to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Miss Iona Morris
120 Hamilton Park
Columbus 3, Ohio

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 8, 1960

Dear Friend:

Mrs. Morrow and I deeply regretted our inability to stay through the dinner the other night to hear your magnificent address. I had to leave in order to get to Texas the next day for an official engagement.

The speech you gave is the talk of the community, and its impact has been great. This never surprises me, of course, because you have been doing this for the last twenty-five years.

It is always good to be associated with you in any endeavor, and I am particularly proud to have been honored with you on the same occasion.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

FEB 9 REC'D

JLC JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

ADOLPH HELD
Chairman
DAVID DUBINSKY
Treasurer
JACOB PAT
Executive Secretary
NATHAN CHANIN
Chairman, Office Committee
BENJAMIN TABACHINSKY
National Campaign Director
EMANUEL MURAVCHIK
National Field Director

Vice-Chairmen
SHELLEY APPLETON
MORRIS BLUMENREICH
JULIUS BORNSTEIN
ISRAEL BRESLOW
JOSEPH DORFMAN
MOE FALIKMAN
HARRY FISHER
BENJAMIN GEBINER
MARTIN GERBER
DAVID GINGOLD
I. H. GOLDBERG
PAUL L. GOLDMAN
HARRY GREENBERG
MURRAY GROSS
DR. LOUIS HENDIN
SAMUEL HERSHKOWITZ
JULIUS HOCHMAN
LOUIS HOLLANDER
LOUIS HYMAN
EPHIM JESHURIN
BENJAMIN KAPLAN
JOSEPH KESSLER
MORRIS KOVLER
EDWARD KRAMER
CHARLES KREINDLER
I. LEVIN-SHATZKES
MARX LEWIS
HENOCH MENDELSUND
ABRAHAM MILLER
ISAIAH M. MINKOFF
NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF
DAVID NISNAVITZ
SAUL RIFKIN
JACOB ROBERTS
GEORGE RUBIN
ELEANOR SCHACHNER
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG
MATTHEW SCHOENWALD
DR. SAMUEL SILVERBERG
ABRAHAM SNYDER
WILLIAM STERN
LOUIS STULBERG
JOSEPH TUVIM
JUDAH TYBERG
MAY VLADECK-BROMBERG
OSSIP WALINSKY
MEYER WEINSTEIN
WILLIAM WOLPERT
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

April 8, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

I hope that this letter finds you in good health.

I though I would write you about two matters that disturb me. One is that there is a big story in the Courier concerning the Youngstown, Ohio NLC banquet. That story makes it appear as if Keith was receiving an award for his great contribution to Negro rights through his vicious articles attacking the JLC, and that you were to be the main speaker there.

The second is that despite my best efforts at gentle suggestion to persons identified with the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South that the JLC has always been most closely identified with the civil rights cause, and particularly with the activities under your leadership, JLC manages to be one of those unrepresented on the Committee's sponsoring list. I feel sure that you will want to correct this situation.

I feel more strongly than ever the need to sit down with you at your first opportunity. It seems that there is a growing gulf between those who look to you for their leadership, and the JLC operation, although I have been doing whatever I can to prevent it. I feel it is unhealthy that we should let this situation go on, and I

ISIDORE AXELROD, Cleveland
HARRY BERGER, Philadelphia
JOSEPH BERNSTEIN, Detroit
MORRIS BIALIS, Chicago
PHILIP BLOCK, Boston
J. A. CHERNIAK, Winnipeg
HARRY DORDICK, Philadelphia
JOSEPH DUNTOV, Miami
DOROTHY DWORKIN, Toronto
JACOB EDELMAN, Baltimore
MAX FEDERMAN, Toronto
JOSEPH GREENFIELD, Boston
NICHOLAS KIRTZMAN, Cleveland
DR. SHMARYA KLEINMAN, Detroit
PHILIP KRAMER, Boston
TEVYA MAISEL, Mexico City
NATHAN MALYN, Pittsburgh
MICHAEL MERLIN, Atlanta
LOUIS ORLIKOW, Winnipeg
SAMUEL OSHRY, Los Angeles
SAMUEL OTTO, Los Angeles
MORRIS POLIN, Chicago
HYMAN A. REIFF, Montreal
WILLIAM ROSS, Philadelphia
MICHAEL RUBINSTEIN, Montreal
ARTHUR SCHECHTER, Grand Rapids
DAVID SCHIER, Chicago
JOSEPH SCHWARTZ, Philadelphia
BERNARD SHANE, Montreal
JACOB SIEGEL, Chicago
MAURICE SILCOFF, Montreal
SIDNEY STARK, Pittsburgh
ISIDORE STENZOR, Los Angeles
BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAM WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City
393

am more than anxious to confer with you. Please favor me with a meeting as soon as you can.

Yours, as ever,

Manny Muravchik

Emanuel Muravchik

EM:gs
oeiu-153

P.S. After dictating the above, I saw the new issue of the Courier (April 9) with its new effort to stir up the same rotten old story, which I thought was buried, and alongside it a headline with extremely vicious implications--incidentally untrue--"Prinz Breaks Jews' Silence on Sit-Ins".

APR 11 REC'D

JLC JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
25 EAST 78th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • LEHIGH 5-3700

ADOLPH HELD
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MAY VLADECK-BROMBERG
OSSIP WALINSKY
MEYER WEINSTEIN
WILLIAM WOLPERT
CHARLES ZIMMERMAN
JACOB T. ZUKERMAN

April 20, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Pres.
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

The lunch counter sit-in demonstrations being conducted by Negro students throughout the South are receiving widespread support from trade unions. Union members are joining picket lines to protest against discrimination. Many unions have already passed resolutions supporting the efforts of the Negro students to win equal rights.

The current issue of Labor Reports published by the Jewish Labor Committee is featuring a cartoon on the "sit-ins" by the well-known labor cartoonist Bernard Seaman. A proof of the cartoon is enclosed.

Unions have used posters very effectively as part of their educational program on union issues as well as on civil rights issues. We believe this cartoon would make a dramatic poster for display in shops and union halls. The JLC is preparing such a poster based on Seaman's cartoon and will make it available at cost to trade unions, if sufficient orders are received.

It will be 17" x 22" in three colors and carry a slogan indicating Labor Backs the Lunch Counter Sit-Ins.

The cost will be as follows:

100 posters (minimum order)	$ 25.00
250 posters	50.00
500 posters	90.00
1000 posters	150.00

ISIDORE AXELROD, Cleveland
HARRY BERGER, Philadelphia
JOSEPH BERNSTEIN, Detroit
MORRIS BIALIS, Chicago
PHILIP BLOCK, Boston
J. A. CHERNIAK, Winnipeg
HARRY DORDICK, Philadelphia
JOSEPH DUNTOV, Miami
DOROTHY DWORKIN, Toronto
JACOB EDELMAN, Baltimore
MAX FEDERMAN, Toronto
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BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAM WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City

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On orders of 250 or more the name of your union can be imprinted on the bottom of the poster. Costs for imprinting are: $10 for the first 250; $1 for each additional 100 posters.

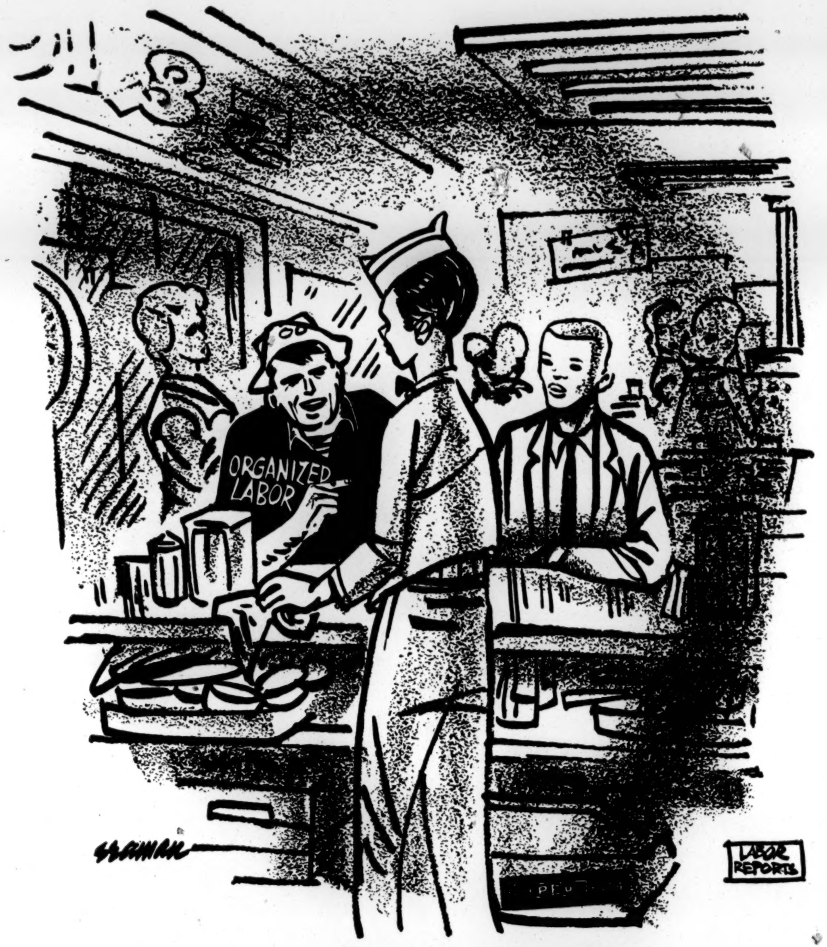
Please let us know by no later than May 10th how many posters you would like to order and whether or not you would want them imprinted.

Fraternally,

Manny

Emanuel Muravchik
National Field Director

EM/db
oeiu-153


ORGANIZED LABOR
LABOR REPORTS

"HE'S NEXT!"

April 22, 1960

Mr. Emanuel Muravchik
Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Manny:

Thank you for your letter of April 8, 1960 with reference to the Youngstown, Ohio NALC Banquet at which an award was given to Mr. Keith, Managing Editor of the COURIER, for his contribution to the achievement of Negro rights.

While I did not discuss the reason the Youngstown Local Council had for selecting Mr. Keith for an award, no doubt, they felt that the COURIER, through Mr. Keith, had rendered some service in giving publicity to some of the activities of the NALC. I am sure that nobody in the Youngstown Local Council considered that they were honoring Mr. Keith for any anti-Semitic writings in the COURIER. I listened to Mr. Keith's talk in receiving the award and there was nothing in his statement which seem to fan the flames of antagonism between Jewish and Negro labor leaders.

Relative to the JLC participating in the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle for Freedom in the South, may I say that there must have been an oversight by not calling upon the JLC to join in this committee. Bayard Rustin sent out these communications to enlist the help of the various organizations in this effort and evidently overlooked the JLC. However, I will bring it to his attention and see to it that the JLC is called upon to cooperate with this effort.

I would certainly like to have a chat with you at some mutually convenient date. Unfortunately, my hands are full with meetings being set up in various areas for the NALC. I just don't have the time to make all of the meetings and carry out my normal activities for the Brotherhood. I will give you a ring and let you know when it will be convenient for us to get together for a chat.

In regard to your footnote, I do not think that there is any sinister motive in referring to Rabbi Prinz's breaking the silence on the sit-in demonstrations since I am sure that there is no basic antagonism between Jews and Negroes even though there may be conflict with respect to procedure, strategy, methodology and approach in dealing with the problem of civil rights.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number
HRT,Jr:FMD:krt
144-18-1018

SEP 16 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We have your telegram of August 30, 1960, concerning the recent disturbances in Jacksonville, Florida.

The Department of Justice is giving this matter its careful attention. Should it develop that a violation of federal law is involved, appropriate action will be taken.

Sincerely,

HAROLD R. TYLER, Jr.
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: John L. Murphy
JOHN L. MURPHY, Chief
General Litigation Section

SEP [illegible]

January 18, 1960

Dear Pauli:

I learned that you are planning to leave for Africa shortly, to lecture in the Ghana School of Law.

This is the best news I have heard in a long time. You will be a distinct asset to the university and the spirit of the young Africans who are now on fire with nationalist revolutions for independence and freedom. I don't know anyone whom I would prefer taking on such an assignment as yourself because of your fine background of commitment to the great causes of human dignity, freedom and progress.

I hope I may get a word from you after you get settled in Ghana.

With warm personal regards and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Pauli Murray
388 Chauncey Street
Brooklyn 33, New York

FOR
THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
FOR METROPOLITAN AND SUBURBAN NEW YORK

Room 1601 • 1133 BROADWAY (at 26th St.) NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-7874

A. J. MUSTE, ACTING SECRETARY
CORINNE BOWERS, CHAIRMAN

January 27, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil Randiph:

When I got back to New York on Monday of this week, it seemed that almost every person I met talked about the marvelous reception to you in Carnegie Hall the night before. Several of them, incidentally, had not been able to get in. I want you to know that I deeply regret that I could not be there and join in the tributes to you which you have so richly earned, not only by what you have done in the past but even more so by the work you are doing now.

Another reason why I am writing you is because I want you to know that I am deeply grateful for the message you sent to my own 75th anniversary birthday party sponsored by a number of my friends in Chicago and vicinity on the 23rd. Your friendship over these many years has been one of the precious things in my life.

Fraternally yours,

A.J

A.J. Muste

AJM:E
Enc.

P.S. Now I want to add thanks for your consenting to serve with Norman & Martin King as a chairman of the "party" Bayard & some of the boys want to give me here in NY

JAN 29 REC'D

"We believe that love .... must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances; and we seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship."
– From the F.O.R. statement of purpose

A.J. Muste
Room 1601
1133 Broadway
New York 10, New York

"WE ARE INNOCENT OF THE ATOM"

The following passage is from the column of Joseph Barry in the New York Post, September 2, 1959:

> As for the Gaullist bomb, which is supposed to bring "prestige" to the French Community, once again it is Le Monde that airs the common sense of latent Latin realism. "Let the government," writes contributor Dominique Halevy, "which wants this bomb, explain to us what sort of prestige it means to get out of it and whom it wants to impress. The prestige of the bogey man? It is true the earth is full of childish people. Is it to dazzle them? If so, let us bombard them with technical aid and schoolbooks......
>
> "Or is it a question of astonishing Europe? Germany, if she were allowed to--Switzerland, if she wanted to--would be at the same state as we are. If a desert were needed, they could rent one. Is the idea to make an impression on England? If so, do the English bombs impress us? And, finally, do we think we can intimidate the Russians and Americans? It is not wise to play dog in the territory of the big bad wolves....
>
> "We already have a powerful weapon: we are innocent of the atom." "Why not use this weapon, says Halevy, and take moral leadership of the world?"

39-30 56 Street
Woodside 77, N.Y.
3/27/60.

MAR

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph,

Dear Sir:—

During the serils of articles run in the New York Post mostly, Times and News papers I read with much pleasure. Many of your fights have cause me to recall the time you and I fought together for Dr. Thomas who is now practicing in Olando. Fla. The occasion was in Providence, R.I. on the Steamboat Plymouth under Mr. Jno. Woods judisdiction.

I presume you remember it was on account of one of the sailors and they wanted to put him in the Brig; so the whole crew held the ship in port for more than two hours.

So enclosed I am sending you a check for $5.00 to help you further the cause of the Student body south. Trusting my letter has found you and yours in the best of health and wishing you all the success as ever. I remain,

Yours as ever.
Ulysses S. Page

April 5, 1960

Mr. Ulysses S. Page
39-30 56th Street
Woodside 77, New York

Dear Mr. Page:

Thank you for your letter of March 27, 1960 informing me of the time that you were engaged in a fight for the workers on the Steamboat Plymouth which ran between New York and Providence, R.I. I well recall this struggle which resulted in my being fired.

Let me express my appreciation for your money order for $5.00 to help the cause of the student sit-in demonstrations for civil rights.

I want you to know that I appreciate this communication immensely.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

1401 So. Van Ness Avenue
c/o E. M. Ewell
Los Angeles 19, California
March 24, 1960.

Dear Phil:

I always follow your advice so here I am back in the United States...or the mainland.

Although I did survive the temptation to conck my hair, slant my eyes and pass as an oriental, I did not come out wholly clean. I won a prize on"Hawaiian Night Aboard Ship" as being the most authentically Hawaiian on board. Leave it to a spook to out-Hawaiian the Hawaiians. They'll do it every time.

However, I felt very self-righteous when a haole (white) woman asked me:

"Are you pure Hawaiian or do you have Chinese or Japanese blood?"

Even you would have had compassion on her had you seen the look of naked hurt and disappointment on her face when I answered:

"Neither, I am a pure-blooded American Negro." I knew I should have softened the blow somehow, but I did not know how. I never saw her again for the five nights and four days trip. Poor thing, she was really let down.

I will be in New York just as soon as "you people" get your climate approximating that of Hawaii and will be anxious to hear of all the things you are doing to "advance yourselves."

Sincerely,

Hilda

MAR 28 REC'D

March 31, 1960

Dear Hilda:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 24, 1960 in which you tell of the interesting and intriguing experience you had aboard ship on your trip from Hawaii.

I can well imagine how shocked the white woman must have been when you gave her your real ethnic identification. I know you must have had a delightful time in Hawaii. I understand that there is no colored section there. Some day, I may take a trip there to see how it looks.

Will be glad to see you and have a chat with you when you get back.

Sincerely,

Miss Hilda Proctor
1401 S. Van Ness Avenue
c/o E. M. Ewell
Los Angeles 19, California

February 10, 1960

The Honorable William P. Rogers
United States Attorney General
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

It is, I suppose, unusual to appeal to the Attorney General of the United States on a matter of a medical parole. I am doing it because I think that the atmosphere surrounding the request I make is such that it would not be easy for the usual authorities to act freely.

Briefly, I desire to endorse the requests that have already been formally made to the Parole Board for a medical parole for Henry Winston, recovering from a very serious brain operation at Montefiore Hospital, New York City. It isn't likely that, if he recovers, he will have more than the partial use of one eye. To suggest that the safety of the country requires his continued confinement is, under the circumstances, absurd. We Americans have a reputation for humanity which certainly suggests a medical parole in this case. Not even the most model prison is a proper convalescent home in such a case as Mr. Winston's. Mr. Winston is a Negro and I am a Negro, but I am not appealing on the ground of race, but on the ground of humanity. Mr. Winston is a communist and I, emphatically, am not. This is not a case in which political difference enters.

You may not know, but there are guards always in attendance around Winston's room in Montefiore Hospital, which seems unnecessary and certainly not conducive to recovery.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

I am sending copies of this letter to George Reed, chairman, Parole Board, and to James V. Bennett, director, Federal Bureau of Prisons.

appealing

Dear Phil – Copy of possible letter to be signed by you. Thanks Norman

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

It is, I suppose, unusual to appeal to the Attorney General of the United States on a matter of a medical parole. I am doing it because I think that the atmosphere surrounding the request I make is such that it would not be easy for the usual authorities to act freely.

Briefly, I desire ~~my proposal is~~ to endorse the requests that have already been formally made to the Parole Board for a medical parole for Henry Winston, who is recovering, – I hope, – from a very serious brain operation at Montefiore Hospital, New York City . It isn't likely that, if he recovers, he will have more than the partial use of one eye. To suggest that the safety of the country requires his continued confinement is, under the circumstances, absurd. We Americans have a reputation for humanity which certainly suggests a medical parole in this case. Not even the most model prison is a proper convalescent home in such a case as Mr. Winston's. Mr. Winston is a Negro and I am a Negro, but I am not appealling on the ground of race but on the ground of humanity. Mr. Winston is a Communist and ~~I~~ emphatically, I am not. This is not a case in which political difference enters.

in attendance By the ~~way~~, as you probably do not know, there are guards now always hanging around Winston's room in ~~the~~ Montefiore Hospital, which seems unnecessary and certainly not conducive to recovery.

you may not know, but

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

I am sending copies of this letter to George Reed, chairman of the Parole Board, and to James V. Bennett, director, Federal Bureau of Prisons.

FEB 8

9495370

Personal stationary

Jones Ben
101 Indiana Ave, N.W.
Washington

Geo Reed
101 Ind Ave,
Wash. D.C. N.W.

Oct. 9. 1960.

Dear Phil:

Bishop H. T. Medford, retired, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church sent me a copy of a letter he had writen you, showing concern because The Non-Partisan Crusade to Register a Million Negro Voters Committee had no representation from this large Religious group.

I am sure his letter was a bid for membership on said Committee. I hope you can arrange to place him if its membership is not completed.

He has been an admirer of yours for a long time, Was a member of our local M.O.W.M. and if Im not mistaken it was in his Church, that the B.S.C.P. were finally able to hold its first Mass Meeting in Washington.

I passed up the Big City for the country for a vacation this year. Lived close to the earth for three weeks and enjoyed every minute of it. I think it is beautiful down there the year round. You must come down some time.

Mom and Sis send their love to you. We know you are busy and have very little time - but we would like to see you.

Take care of your self.

As ever
Sincerely
"Lil" [Speight]

October 13, 1960

Miss Lillian Speight
135 S. Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Lillian:

Thank you for your letter of October 9, 1960 informing me that Bishop H. T. Medford of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church sent you a copy of a letter he had written me showing concern about not being solicited to serve as a member of the Non-Partisan Crusade to Register One Million Voters.

It is quite possible that we did overlook quite a number of prominent and important figures in making up the list since time was short and we were trying to get the Crusade under way. However, I will write to Bishop Medford and express our interest in having him join us in the Crusade.

I am glad to know that you had a pleasant and enjoyable vacation in the country. I plan to take a week's vacation the latter part of this week. Mac is going to drive me down to Baltimore.

Kindly remember me to your mother and Louise.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Spiegel

Nov. 13, 1960.

Dear Phil:

Today is almost a week removed from the election. I am sure your project had much if not all to do with the results - since Nixon's defeat is being blamed on not paying any attention to the Negro vote. I hope you are pleased with the results. I am very pleased. I was sick of what we had and if there has to be more of it please let it be issued by some one with a new approach, even if there is no cure, for the same old problems.

Thanks for giving my last note your attention. Have not seen or heard from the Bishop, but he was pleased, I am sure, if you wrote him.

Now that all is about to be quiet on the political front (or is it?) I almost hope this letter will have to await your arrival from a rest of at least one week in some quiet place where there is nothing to do but relax.

I heard a man on radio say. He hoped some one would mobilize the children in D.C. for a March

On Washington" for the revilatization of Parents and Community in the interest of Children in D.C. A feeling of pride crept over me for the small part I played in the very first one nearly 20 years ago. There are many many of us who whenever a MORUM is mentioned by any person or group become overwhelmed with esteem and gratitude to you for master minding the idea.

Mother and Lou send their best regards to you.

My love to Mrs. Randolph. Take care of yourself.

Sincerely
"Lil"

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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RFR 1 D L = CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= APR 21 1960=

MAIDA SPRINGER=
INTL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AFL-CIO =
815 SIXTEENTH ST N W= WASHINGTON D C =

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR HAVING BEEN CHOSEN AS WOMAN OF THE YEAR BY ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY= THIS IS MORE A TRIBUTE AND HONOR TO THIS SORORITY THAN TO YOURSELF HOWEVER I AM HAPPY THAT WE, AS A GROUP, ARE AWAKENING TO THE APPRECIATION OF OUR OWN SONS' AND DAUGHTERS, QUALITY AND BASIC CONTRIBUTION TO OUR FREEDOM= ¶-NEEDLESS TO SAY I WAS ELATED AND DELIGHTED

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

OVER YOUR TALK AT THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CONFERENCE= GEORGE MEANY AND MYSELF HAD A LITTLE CHAT-ABOUT YOU JUST BEFORE YOU WERE CALLED ON AND WE AGREED THAT YOU WERE GOING TO MAKE A TREMENDOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THIS DEPARTMENT= CORDIALLY AND AFFECTIONATELY.=

= A. PHILIP RANDOLPH=

Sunday afternoon

Dear Phil,

This note to you has just insisted on being written and indeed there are so many things of our mutual interest.

The mail that has been forwarded to me has included reports on the work of Kiwanuka and Mandawa, both are deep in the work of their unions and making significant contributions. Kiwanuka has just been elected the General Secy of the Post and Telegraphs Union and Pat is setting up educational seminars for the local leaders, it was interesting to note that the Government Labor Officers now accept invitations to participate in such programs.

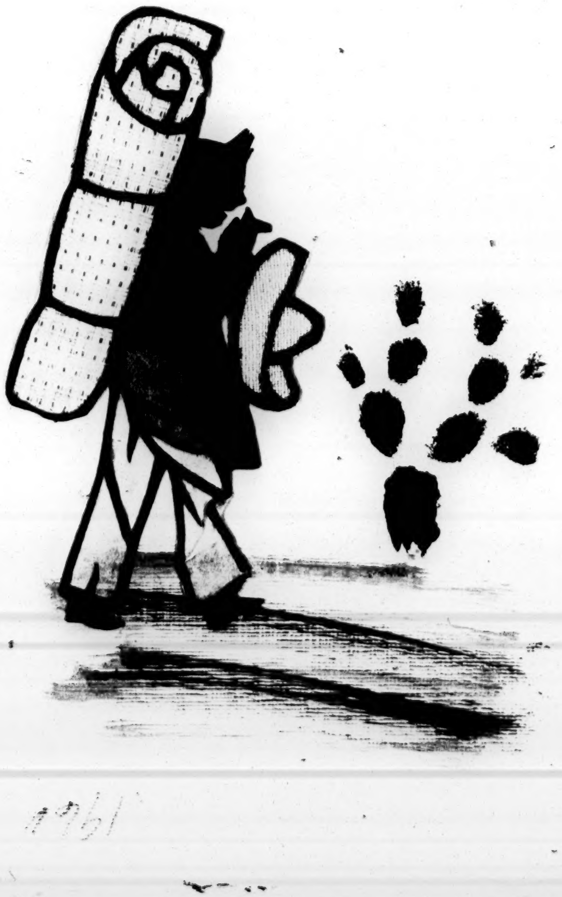
A letter from the Permanent secretariat of the All African Peoples Conference informs me that a Mr Chimpunza from the Central African Federation is touring the United States. He is one of two Africans joining the tourists in Central Africa. It is a pity that the first spokesman, African from that beleagured area should be an apologist for Sir Roy Welensky, Lord Malvern and others of his ilk.

Now nearly two months after the medical peoples unpleasant views abt the state of my health I can view it with less alarm. I am very much better now and will call you soon after my return to New York very early in June.

I close with a hope that all goes well in the work of the Brotherhood and with you personally. Sincerely,

Maida

[Maida Springer]



1961

"OMNIA VINCIT LABORE"
"All Is Conquered By Labor"

Fortieth Anniversary

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1920 1960

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Speaker: MRS. FLORENCE COFIE
Subject: Greensboro to Ghana

Today's Concern –
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MRS. MAIDA SPRINGER
Department of International Affairs
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TENTH ANNUAL
FINER WOMANHOOD PROGRAM

At CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH
833 Marcy Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
REV. GARDNER C. TAYLOR, Pastor

SUNDAY, APRIL 24th, 1960
4:30 P. M.

May 12, 1960

Dear Maida:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation and delight for the opportunity to spend some time with you and your lovely mother at dinner. I assure you that I enjoyed it immensely.

I was glad to be able to have a chat with you about your new job and problems in general.

I shall look forward to seeing you at the Founding Convention of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit.

Kindly remember me to your mother.

Cordially,

Miss Maida Springer
1712 Sixteenth Street, N. W., #106
Washington, D. C.

May 18, 1960

Dear Phil:

Your May 12th note had a special significance for me, that was my birthday and so it was a special pleasure to know that your thoughts were with me on that day.

If you enjoyed the evening with us in Washington, I want to assure you that our pleasure was doubled and we look forward to sharing such an evening with you again before too long.

Of course I anxiously look forward to the Founding Conference, this meeting has many many potentialities for the growth and development of the Negro in America, for I feel this movement goes above and beyond the economic issues around which it is based.

Again my appreciation for the happy evening you spent with us. With warmest regards for you and Lucille I am,

Most sincerely,

Maida

COPY

July 21, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

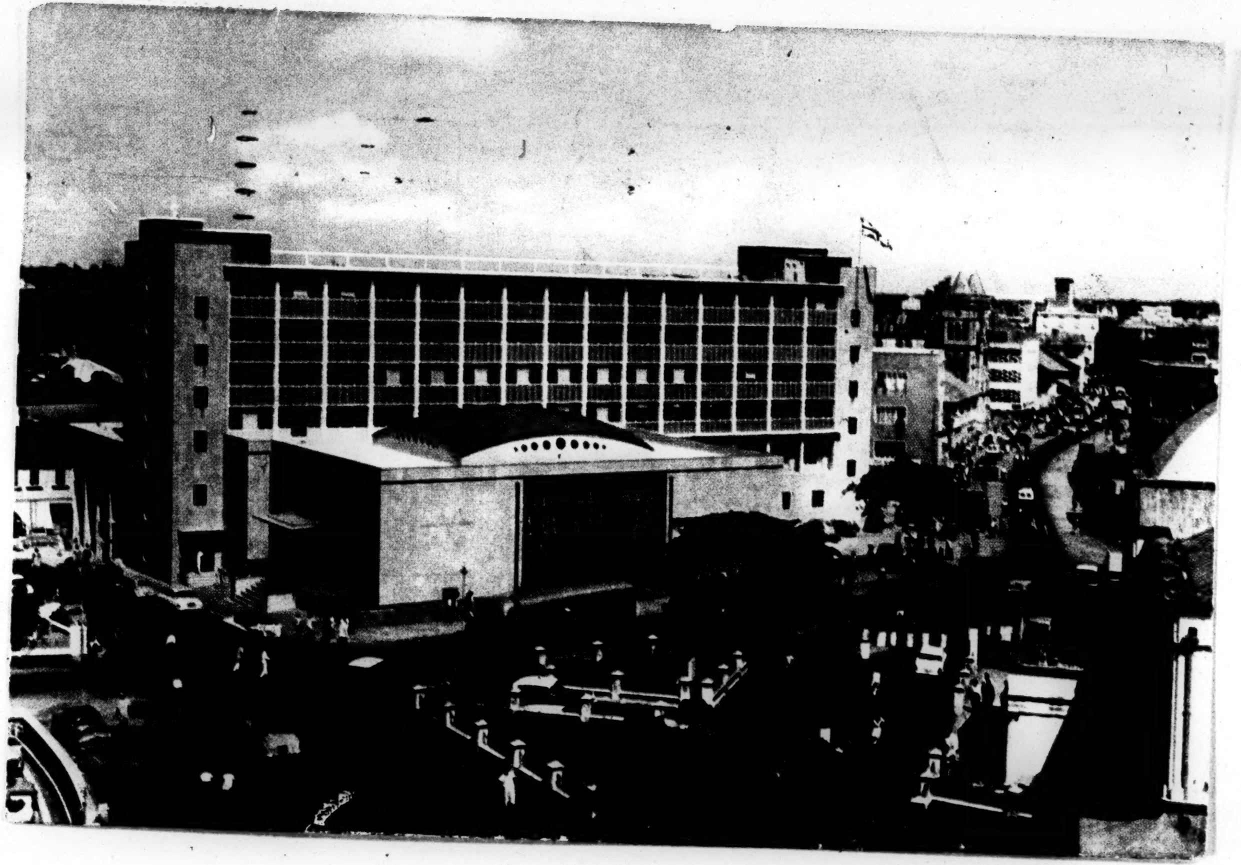
I want to call to your attention a current visitor from Africa to the United States on a foreign exchange leader grant program. Mr. George Suleiman Panda is the Commissioner of Labor and will, after independence of Sierra Leone in April 1961, be the Permanent Secretary.

While Mr. Panda is not a trade unionist, his long identification with the development of the trade union movement makes him a sympathetic advocate of the development of a democratic and stable labor movement. I believe it would serve a most useful purpose to meet with Mr. Panda on the day he is in New York, August 4th. I have called your office and suggested this possibility. I do hope it meets with your approval. I will check with your office on Tuesday, August 2nd, for confirmation.

Fraternally and sincerely,

/s/

Maida Springer
International Representative



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6d
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9/30/60

Dear Bro. Randolph
We do miss your presence. I have been asked each day about your arrival. This is an overwhelming event in size and portents for the future,
Maida

Mr A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood
217 West 125 Street
New York City

Published by the Federal Ministry of Information, Lagos, and printed by Brown Knight & Truscott Ltd., London

5. The Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos.

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

November 28, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, New York

Dear Brother Randolph:

It is always encouraging and a happy occasion to talk with you. All the more so because our points of mutual interest leave no doubt as to our constructive approach on the developments in Africa, with particular reference to the trade union movement.

In this connection, I am enclosing a copy of the Ghanaian Times in which Mrs. Jewell Mazique's open letter to African trade unions (was originally published sometime in the Afro-American), seems to be a distortion of everything towards which we have been bending our efforts. It is all the more distressing because Mrs. Mazique is, I believe, an informed and dedicated woman.

I will be in New York for a meeting on Friday afternoon (December 2) and will be remaining on Monday for a number of discussions. I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to give me an appointment anytime Friday, other than 2:30 to 4, or anytime at all on Monday.

With every good wish, I am,

Fraternally and sincerely,

Maida

Maida Springer
International Representative
International Affairs Department

kmc

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Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

January 25, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

That was a very fine meeting in your honor and surely it was well deserved by you. I am enclosing a copy of a column I send to the Denver Post and the Trenton Times. I comment on the party and your call for a march on Washington.

In view of the situation which you know so well, including the rise of Negro chauvinism, would you consider writing a letter to Commentary, saying something to the effect that you are sure that Mr. Hill will agree with you that in spite of the facts which he cites, there has been progress in relations with labor and that labor and progressive Negroes must work together for the good of both. Coming from you, it would be very influential and perhaps allay unnecessary feeling on both sides of the discussion which seems to be rising in some of our circles.

All good wishes,

As ever, yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

For release

January 27, 1960

NEW YORK, N.Y. - It's very fortunate that the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen at its convention on motion of a Southern delegate decided by a big majority to remove from its constitution its barrier against Negro membership. Further delay on this issue would have been serious because there is a rising tide of feeling among Negroes even those heretofore most friendly to organized labor that progress in justice in labor unions as well as in American political units has been discouragingly slow. This feeling goes far to explain the rise of organized black chauvinism in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and other cities. In New York, a movement calling itself the Temple of Islam, headed by Elijah Muhammed, who calls himself "the Messenger of Allah, to the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in North America," is making considerable headway. It tries quite literally to treat whites as the whites have treated the colored people. It is vehemently opposed to the NAACP and to the general idea of racial integration.

We who deplore this movement must in all honesty reflect on the general patience of our Negro fellow-citizens during almost a century since they were presumably given equality of rights by the Emancipation Proclamation and the later constitutional amendments. In several states they are still cynically denied the right to vote. In city after city, labor union locals, if they admit Negroes at all, put them into a separate and subordinate organizations. A Negro prisoner is taken out of jail in Mississippi and lynched. The FBI turned over to the authorities leads to the guilty persons whose guilt involved collaboration with public officials. First a state, and then a federal, grand jury in Mississippi rather boastfully proclaimed their inability to find any evidence of any person's guilt. In Deerfield, Ill., the citizens are going to great length to block the development of an inter-racial housing project along lines which have worked well in many other places.

This sort of thing gives peculiar importance to leadership of men like A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. An overflow crowd filled Carnegie Hall, New York City, in an impressive salute to him on his 70th birthday. Messages of greeting were received from a great array of distinguished people, including the President of the United States, the Governor of New York, and the Prime Minister of India. Two U.S. Senators and a former Governor of New York were among the speakers. Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, presided and telegrams of messages came from high labor officials. Mr. Randolph has stood out preeminently as an embodiment of the necessary cooperation of labor and a progressive Negro movement. He is aware of the terrible price that white workers, particularly in the South, as well as Negroes, have paid for the long crime of Negro chattel slavery. He has always spoken out for Negro rights but always in terms of cooperation in the general interest of workers and humanity. I travelled with him in Japan and Japanese workers believed his assurances about the facts of American life the more readily because he was himself a Negro.

He has made very effective use of peaceful marches to Washington of Negroes and whites to advance the cause of fair employment and the end of educational segregation. He now proposes the same sort of peaceful marches to the Democratic and Republican conventions in order to insist on proper and unequivocal statements on racial issues in their platforms. This could be a constructive alternative to dangerous racial extremism. No minority group ~~was~~ has ever ~~granted~~ won its rights without some struggle. Mr. Randolph's plan gives Negroes a chance to participate on non-violent terms in that struggle.

- Norman Thomas

# # # # # # #

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FRANK N. TRAGER
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

February 10, 1960

Mr. A. Philip Randolph,
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

DearSir:

Enclosed is a draft of a proposed letter to the American Ambassador to the Organization of American States. The letter, I believe, is self-explanatory.

With the approaching visits of President Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson to Latin America and with so much attention being drawn to this increasingly important part of the world, it is imperative that the voices of prominent Americans be raised in denunciation of the Dictator Trujillo and in behalf of the innocent people whom he has thrown into jail.

I do not think you need additional argument. If you agree with the substance of the enclosed letter and are willing to be associated with it, please let me hear from you promptly.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas
Chairman

NT/jd

FEB 10 REC'D

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR RESEARCH, INC.
113 East 37th Street, New York 16, New York • MUrray Hill 6-6828 • Cable: LABRESINST

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February 4, 1960

Honorable John C. Dreier
Ambassador to the Organization
of American States
U.S. State Department
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

American public opinion is shocked and revolted by the recent events in the Dominican Republic. The Trujillo dictatorship has unleashed a campaign of terror against the Dominican people which, according to reports reaching us, has assumed mass proportions. Thousands of innocent people have been thrown into prisons and their lives are in grave danger. If our western civilization and the ideals for which it stands is to survive we cannot accept in silence this brutal act of extermination carried out against our brother Dominicans. The International League for Human Rights has already protested to the OAS against this new act of barbarism on the part of Trujillo.

We appeal to you, Mr. Ambassador, to raise your voice in the OAS on behalf of the helpless Dominican people, and ask that immediate steps be taken by the OAS to safeguard human rights.

Should the OAS lack existing adequate machinery to undertake such measures, we respectfully suggest that in view of the grave emergency, a special meeting be called and adequate means be immediately provided to enable the OAS to intervene urgently and effectively.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas
Chairman

NT/jd

Date . . . .

I agree with the letter to the American Ambassador to the OAS. You may use my name as one of the signators.

Name. . . . .

Address . . . .

4¢ U.S. POSTAGE LINCOLN

Mr. Norman Thomas
Institute of International
Labor Research
113 East 37th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Labor and Industrial Relations Center

[redacted]
January 6, 1960

Dear Sir:

In the next term here at Michigan State University, beginning in January, the Economics Department is offering for the first time on campus a course in labor union history.

In order to provide materials for students to use in writing term papers for this course we need your help in providing this library with any historical materials which you may have available about or by your organization. Types of materials are suggested below.

The correct mailing address is:

Labor and Industrial Relations Library
Michigan State University Library - 207
East Lansing, Michigan

Thanks very much for your kind consideration of this request.

Very truly yours,

B Shaw

Bradford Shaw
Labor and Industrial
Relations Librarian

✓ Histories
✓ Constitutions and By-Laws
Conventions Proceedings
Officers Reports
✓ Suggested Basic Agreements
Reports of Arbitrations
✓ Educational publications

JAN 11 [illegible]

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Junel, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

Your organizing convention in Detroit came at the same time as the Socialist convention so I am slow writing you. I rejoice at the formation of the American Negro Labor Council. I rejoice more because you and others have seen to it that it is formed on so sound and fair a basis. I wish it great success. If there is any service I can render, please let me know.

As ever, yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

JUN 3 REC'D

June 15, 1960

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of June 1, 1960 with comments on the organization of the Negro American Labor Council in Detroit, May 27-29, 1960.

May I say that it was a tremendous demonstration and I am looking forward to the development of a strong movement.

Cordially

A. Philip Randolph

APR/b

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

August 12, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Philip:

We have found it impossible to get some conferees whose presence we most desire for our conference on the Economics of Disarmament which we had planned to hold at Gould House October 7-9, 1960. Election activities and some competing conferences interfere. After consultation with some of our advisers we have reluctantly decided to postpone the conference until December 9-11, 1960, or January 27-29, 1961. We shall deeply appreciate it if on the enclosed card you will promptly let us know of those dates, indicating your preference.

Our plans will be about the same as before, but my attention has been called: (1) to the neglected subject of the probable effect of rapid disarmament on the economies of many other nations and its possible political consequences; and (2) to the probable effects on our scientific research programs in institutions now getting a very large share of their cost from government as part of our defense program.

We expect, therefore, to prepare and send out a somewhat altered plan for discussion of essential questions.

Please accept our apologies for any inconvenience this notice may cause you.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas -m-

Norman Thomas

/m

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GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

September 14, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

Thank you for replying to our request for your availability for the conference on the Economics of Disarmament. We have been able to take Gould House for the weekend of January 28-30, 1961.

We will follow the general lines that we hadplanned for the earlier date but we enclose a revised set of questions, which take account of one or two issues that have been brought to our attention. We shall plan later to send to those of you who are coming a kit of further information.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

September 20, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

This is just a short letter to confirm what I have said on the telephone. If it were practical I would be honored to be on a national ticket with you seeking write-in votes but neither of us, and especially not you, can afford to do what is obviously futile. We have no evidence that it will be possible in any state to write-in names for president and vice president where there are no electors who have been nominated. There is a danger that the effort will spoil the whole ballot and a practical certainty that the votes will not be recorded. There is also the question that it will take a lot of money to let people know about this write-in plan and none of this money is in sight late in September. There are other problems but these are the chief.

I also spoke with you about a demand that the Democratic Party find ways to assure liberal voters and especially Negroes that they will not stultify their own civil rights platform by allowing men who disagree with it to become ~~by~~ seniority chairmen of vital committees like the Rules Committee in the House and the Judiciary Committee in the Senate. I have spoken to the NAACP also about it and I think some action should be taken publicly in the matter, at any civil rights conference in New York on October 11th, unless the Democratic candidates have first taken a position. The same thing should be asked of the Republicans only I am pretty sure that they won't control Congress.

As ever, yours,

NT:S

Norman Thomas

426

P.S. After dictating the foregoing, I heard that a list of electors had actually been filed in California which will not put us on the ballot but will permit write-in votes. I do not think that you and I should say, "no, you can't do this," since it is clearly a state enterprise which we haven't sought and are not encouraging as a national effort.

N.T.

No more DOUBLETALK

You CAN vote

for

CIVIL RIGHTS

Republicans & Democrats
SAY they are for civil
rights...they have been
SAYING it for 100 years.

This year make your vote
COUNT

Write in for Pres.& V-Pres.

X	Norman Thomas
X	A Philip Randolph

Voters Write-In Committee for
Disarmament and Integration

"DISARMAMENT EAST & WEST - INTEGRATION NORTH & SOUTH"

7869 Seville Ave., Huntington Park. WE.32781-LU.73008.
Labor Donated.

September 27, 1960

Mr. Norman Thomas
Post War World Council
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

Thank you for your letter expressing your feeling about the plan to develop a movement for write-in names for President and Vice President. Because of your long practical experience with matters of this sort I would, naturally, defer to your judgment. I agree that we don't have the time or money to make a write-in movement for President or Vice President a success.

Dick Parrish and myself had talked about this matter quite a bit, and thought that something could be done about it. But I accept your judgment on this question and agree that the results would not put us in a good light.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

October 3, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

I write in the hope that you may share my concern lest in the next session of Congress the liberal planks of both party platforms, especially the Democratic, will be forgotten or that attempts to implement them will be frustrated by the present system of committee chairmanships in both the House and the Senate, the rules in the Senate, and a general let-down of public interest. The last Congress outrageously disappointed liberal hopes.

Some of us have been thinking that if we could get together outstanding liberals, representing no group officially but sharing the point of view of various liberal groups and labor unions, we might produce a useful statement before Congress convenes and perhaps adopt other plans to make liberalism count in Washington. We need not agree on all points to agree on enough to make some kind of joint action effective. Do you agree? Could you come to such a conference, not too large and not publicized - unless and until we get action - let us say on December 10th and 11th? Would you prefer New York or Washington?

I shall be very grateful for a frank and prompt reply, possibly with suggestions on procedure.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:S

OCT 4 1960

October 6, 1960

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

I am in agreement with you that something should be done to insure favorable action on liberal planks in both party platforms, and I will try to attend whatever meeting you arrange.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

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Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

October 27, 1960

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

I have agreed to enclose with this letter an announcement about the Sobell case. I have spent a good deal oftime on the case and, while I am not fully persuaded of Sobell's innocence, I think there were irregularities in the trial. Moreover, I think he has been in prison now for many years and his sentence seems excessive. Our country is not made stronger by injustice.

Sincerely yours,

NT:S

Norman Thomas

425

November 17, 1960

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

I think your observations on the Sobell case are quite sound.

Our country is not made stronger by injustice.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

[1960]

1408 Tenth Avenue West
Seattle 99, Washington

Dear Brother Randolph:

As far as I know, there is no section of the Negro American Labor Congress in Seattle, but I believe you could be of help to us here in connection with the Woolworth boycott. The problem is that the King County Labor Council (Seattle) has condemned the boycott, largely because of the absence of positive leadership in the local NAACP, and positively bad leadership among the students who have been picketing the main Woolworth's store here.

Briefly, what happened was that the picketing was initiated by a group of students not connected with any recognized Civil Rights or Negro organization. The group, which was and is all white, had no one of any political experience or competence in it except a tiny handful of Communists and Trotskyists. At the same time, the Seattle NAACP was dragging its feet about doing something in support of the sit-ins. By the time it was ready to do something, this ad hoc group, called the Seattle Youth Committee for Integrated Schools already had regular picket lines going. There were about 40 persons out, most of them enthusiastic, but the lines were very badly run. As I indicated, there were no Negroes regularly involved, sometimes, there were as many as three. Signs were not neat, leaflets amateurish, without a union bug, and sometimes there were as many as seven bearded persons in a line of forty.

As you can imagine, this kind of picket line made the NAACP even more dilatory about what it ought to have been doing, especially when the Seattle Youth Committee asked the NAACP to support them. We In the University Chapter of the NAACP should have taken the initiative in the beginning, but we were involved in another project at the time, and were trying to pressure the city Branch to do something.

Last week, when it finally seemed to be on the verge of organizing a real campaign against Woolworth, the blow came from the Labor Council. Their concern was that this was a "beatnik" picket line, and that some people thought that it represented the labor movement. From their point of view, there was some justification. But the resolution, which was released to the papers, went far beyond that, calling the sit-ins not a Seattle problem, and making much of the fact that Woolworths Seattle has a union contract and employs Negroes.

What we need now, lest this setback completely discourage the attempt to spread the boycott, is a list of those international unions and prominent labor leaders who have openly endorsed (1) the sit-ins, and (2) the national Woolworth boycotts. This information is necessary if we are either to get the Council motion rescinded, or failing that, to counteract it.

JUN 15 REC'D

Please rush this information. Since I may be going to Japan very shortly, please send it to our President, Randy Moore, 3744 Brooklyn Avenue, Seattle 5.

Respectfully, Arlon R Tussing
Arlon R. Tussing

June 21, 1960

Mr. Arlon R. Tussing
1408 Tenth Avenue West
Seattle 99, Washington

Dear Mr. Tussing:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning the picketing of the Woolworth Stores in Seattle, Washington.

I would suggest that you get in touch with Dr. John Morsell, Assistant to Mr. Roy Wilkins, NAACP 20 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y., relative to cooperation in this matter.

Now, on the matter of the Negro American Labor Council, may I say that it is our purpose to get a local council established in Seattle and all up and down the Pacific Coast. May I suggest that you write to Mr. L. B. Thompson, Vice President of the NALC, 4006½ South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, concerning this matter. You may tell him that I suggested that you write to him.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

PASEO y MALECON, VEDADO, HAVANA, CUBA
HOTEL, CABANA CLUB & CASINO
CABLE: RIVHOTEL

(87 Howland St.
Boston 21, Mass.)

June 20th, 1960 -- Havana

Dear Phil,

Just thought you'd be interested to know I've been down here in Cuba gathering material for some articles. I was reminded of you and of something you told me a good four or five years ago when someone here the other day mentioned having seen at the Del Prado Hotel in Mexico City that painting by Rivera showing the white man raping the rest of the world. After considerable delay the painting is now open to the public. You told me how a Cuban (?) trade unionist at some international conference had described it to you.

From what I've seen here with my own eyes I can only conclude that, with official encouragement, the U.S. daily press is out to dishonestly smear Castro's social revolution with the communist taint. In my articles I'll be pointing out some of the distortions, fantasies and outright lies that American newsmen have sent out of here. By contrast, as recently as May 29, 1960, the Sunday Times of London had a long and favorable article by Norman Lewis; I understand that the London Economist is favorable and has said that Cuba is free for the first time; and the March, 1960 issue of the Jesuit magazine "Social Order" published in St. Louis has a most favorable article by a University of Maryland economist, Wm. Glade Jr., on "Castro and Cuba -- The Politics of Economic Development." And the Church and church press in Cuba are strongly behind the Revolution still. From here it looks to a lot of persons as if the gullible and unsophisticated U. S. public is being prepared for some sort of military intervention, in behalf of big American investors, under the guise of anti-communism and perhaps under the disguise of Washington's puppet, the Organization of American States. If so, it would be a folly far worse even than the British-French expedition in Suez, and it would result in something even more nasty and prolonged than Hungary, because it's certain that the Cubans would fight.

Best regards.

Sincerely, Bill W-

JUN 22 REC'D

July 6, 1960

Mr. Bill Worthy
87 Howland Street
Boston 21, Mass.

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your letter of June 20, 1960 with comments on your trip to Havana Cuba.

Your observation of the Cuban social revolution is interesting. One must always look behind the headlines in the press for the truth. I have not heard any responsible person label the Castro revolution as communist inspired and communist dominated.

I am glad to know that the painting by Rivera showing a white man raping the rest of the world is now open to the public. I know it must be a sensation.

When you are in New York, I hope that you will drop by the office so that we may have a chat.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

87 Howland St.
Boston 21, Mass.

August 1, 1960 (N.Y.C.)

Dear Phil,

The enclosed may be of interest to you.

I still wish it were possible for you to spare the time for a visit to Cuba. It's a classic case where seeing is believing. And to someone like yourself after decades of campaigns and only "gradual" results, the sight of what has been done in 19 short months would be a real tonic.

Kindest regards,

Bill Worthy

AUG 2 REC'D

enclosure

Mr. Bill Worthy
87 Howland Street
Boston 21, Massachusetts

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your note of August 1, 1960 with enclosures concerning the problems of Cuba. I am glad to get this material. I read it with interest. After having read the recent articles in the NEW YORK TIMES on the Cuban situation, I am glad to get your point of view.

I note that the Catholic Church has not taken any position in condemning Castro and his revolution. I think this is very significant.

I certainly hope that it cannot be established that the revolution is communist and that Castro himself is a communist. I have always had the feeling that he is not a communist and that the revolution has grown out of the agony and tyranny under which the Cubans must have suffered. It would be a pleasure to go to Cuba and observe the revolution but I have my hands full here and cannot do so.

When you are in New York, come by the office so that we may have a chat.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/h

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE A-W 1961

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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NG206 LA137

1961 OCT 17 AM 5 05

L LLC456 NL PD LOS ANGELES CALIF 16

A PHILLIP RANDOLPH

217 WEST 125 ST SUITE 301 NYK

WE WISH TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON STAND YOU TOOK IN RECENT AFL-CIO MEET WE WANT YOU TO KNOW WE ARE PROUD OF YOU AS OUR LEADER PROUD OF YOU AS AN AFL-CIO OFFICIAL PROUD OF YOU IN YOUR LONG FIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OUR GOOD WISHES ARE WITH YOU ALWAYS

THE M H AUSTINS.

B

YWCA
National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U. S. A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

Southern Region
Suite 301, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: Jackson 5-2372

June 5, 1961

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Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
President, Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters
117 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

I hope that my telegram reached you the other week to avoid your coming in to the office to keep the appointment with me. As indicated in the wire I was asked to come to Jackson, Mississippi and had to leave early in the morning of the day that I was scheduled to see you. As it now stands I will not be back in the city again until after the middle of July at which time I hope that it will be my good fortune to have a chance to see you.

One of the matters which I had hoped to discuss with you related to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. As you perhaps know, the Executive Countil of the AFL-CIO last fall made a contribution of $5,000.00 to the Student Committee to help defray the cost of the October conference. Subsequent to that a person in the Atlanta area, who said that he had helped to secure the contribution, intimated to the secretary of the Student Committee that some question had been raised about Byard Rustin's being invited to speak at the conference. I questioned whether the person had influenced the contribution from the AFL-CIO and certainly whether the matter of Byard's attending the conference had been a determining factor in the AFL-CIO's decision to make it. I had planned to ask you about this and to spell out a bit more clearly some of the reasons why there is an increasing need for the student movement to initiate and continue a fund raising program to sustain its activities. Suffice it to say now that contributions through existing agencies have not been adequate to the growing need. I prefer to discuss this personally rather than to speak at greater length at this poing.

I am confident that you have kept abreast of developments in connection with the Freedom Rides; and I believe you will be interested in the enclosed report that has just been released by the Southern Regional Council. This is, in my opinion, a very adequate chronology of developments to date and also reflects some pertinent observations and interpretations. As you know the plan is to continue these rides and it is to be hoped that there will be an increase in adult responses because thus far the larger number of participants have been students;

and with the college year ending it may not be so easy to continue to recruit students for this project. Howbeit, I think we can all agree that gains have been made by this effort.

With best wishes for your continued health, I am.

Sincerely,

Ella

Ella J. Baker
National Student YWCA Staff
Southern Region

EJB:fd

JUN 7 1961

July 22, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th St.
New York, 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This note is to advise you that I have been appointed as a Consultant with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, U.S. Department of Helath, Education and Welfare.

The appointment is not a political appointment. I received the appointment because I took and passed a competitive Federal Civil Service Examination. My 7½ years of employment with the government, my experience in social work in Chicago, and my educational background were valuable qualifications for the job.

I hope that you and Mrs. Randolph are well and that you are spending a pleasant summer.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Ave. N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

August 3, 1961

Dear Roberta:

Congratulations on your new position as a Consultant with the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. You are thoroughly qualified for this post and I am indeed happy to know of your assignment.

Some time when I am in Washington, I plan to give you a ring so we may get together for a chat.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Roberta Church
2101 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

208 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
JAckson 5-1763

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

James R. Wood, *Public Relations Director*
Ralph D. Abernathy, *Treasurer*

March 7, 1961

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This is to correct a discrepancy in the letter from Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker dated March 1, 1961. The meeting will be held on March 10th in Lynchburg, Virginia.

Thank you,

D. Cotton
Secretary

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN RESOURCES
A Project of New York University and African Fair, Inc.
6 Washington Square North . New York 3, New York Spring 7- 2000

C
O
P
Y

February 9, 1961

Miss Maida Springer
A.F.L. & C.I.O.,
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Miss Springer,

Under separate cover I have sent to you the Brochure for the Conference on African Resources to take place at New York University, March 27-29, 1961.

The purpose of this Conference is to bring together representatives from countries in tropical Africa who are concerned with economic development and officials in American business corporations, to talk for 3 days concerning trade, investment and education for development. It is our belief that this Conference will be of value to the African countries because they are in need of the skill and capital of the American corporate community. The Conference is of value to American business corporations because they will continue to find growing opportunities for trade and investment in Africa.

Although we have completed our plans for the organization of the Conference, we are very concerned about having representation from American labour organizations. Your name has been highly recommended to us, as a person who should be requested to attend our Conference and participate in its discussions. I suppose you realise the necessity of developing a very well organized Trade Union movement among the workers in the independent African countries.

Please let me know if you can attend. Also I would appreciate your letting me have the names of other persons who might be asked to represent American labour in the various sessions. We expect to have approximately 12 groups in session at the same time; it would be advisable therefore, to have a minimum of 12 participants to adequately cover each of the discussions.

Kind regards,
Yours very truly,

Edgar D. Draper
Assistant Director.

EDD:ms

C
O
P
Y

January 30, 1961

Mr. James Franklin Estes
Attorney at Law
660 Vance Avenue
Memphis 3, Tennessee

Dear Friend and Brother:

I want to acknowledge and thank you for your letter expressing interest in receiving my telegram on the occasion of the demonstration in Memphis on behalf of Haywood and Fayette counties citizens of color.

I note that a Freedom Village is planned and you would like to name a street after myself. May I say I would be honored to be associated with this great struggle for freedom.

Relative to a special project in behalf of Haywood and Fayette Counties by the Negro American Labor Council, we will be glad to consider this matter at the next meeting of our National Executive Board which we plan to hold following our Workshop and Institute on Race Bias in Trade Unions, Industry and Government, February 17 and 18 in Washington, D. C.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
President

MEMORANDUM

June 8, 1961

TO: Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President, Negro American Labor Council

FROM: Herbert Hill, NAACP Labor Secretary

RE: Apprenticeship Training Programs.

Throughout the industrial economy of the United States major changes are taking place that directly affect every wage earner, white and colored. These significant technological changes, sometimes called automation, have a special meaning for Negro workers and a direct relationship to the well-being of the entire Negro community.

3

The fact that there is such a great concentration of Negro workers in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled means that the increasing introduction of advanced methods of production will result in the wholesale displacement of Negroes currently employed in unskilled Negro workers.

Begin here

Because the quantity and quality of education is a basic element in fundamentally changing the Negro's status, both in economic and social terms, it is essential that Federal and State Governments give special attention to the matter of vocational training.

In most of these programs the role of the labor union is decisive because the trade union usually determines who is admitted into the training program and, therefore, who is admitted into the union. Most frequently apprentices are indentured by joint labor-management apprenticeship committees which are established in many crafts and industries where this organizational form provides the most practical method of sponsoring skilled craft training. Joint apprenticeship committees are usually composed of equal numbers of management, labor and public representatives in any given trade. For all practical purposes, joint apprenticeship committees are controlled by the union and represent the interests of particular craft organizations in formal training systems. This appears to be especially true in the building trades where joint apprenticeship committees predominate.

Craft unions also play an important role in the recruitment and selection of apprentices through their relationship to employer indenturing units. These relationships may range from simple acquiescence in management's choice of apprentices, to unilateral selection of apprentices by the craft union as in Cleveland where apprentices are directly indentured to Local 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Labor also exercises control over apprenticeship manpower

Memo to: Mr. Randolph
Page Two
June 8, 1961

NEGRO WORKERS, SECURE

through its ability to dispatch apprentices through hiring hall procedures in de facto closed shop situations. In these circumstances, craft unions have effective power to either promote or prevent the admission possibilities of individuals or of a class of persons.

Craft unions are frequently the decisive element in the recruitment process in many apprenticeship programs and often prevent Negro youth from becoming skilled craft workers via the established route of apprenticeship. NOR ARE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS WHOLLY BLAMELESS FOR THE FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR UPGRADING ~~AND~~ AND IN-PLANT TRAINING

On the level of the small shop and local union, the traditions of discrimination have now become deeply institutionalized. A form of caste psychology impels many workers to regard their own positions as "white men's jobs", to which no Negro should aspire. These workers and, often, their union leaders regard jobs in their industries as a kind of private privilege, to be accorded and denied by them as they see fit. Often, Negroes are not alone in being barred from such unions, which attempt to maintain an artificial labor shortage. This is especially true in the building and printing trades, which have much of the character of the medieval guilds. On the local level, the inertia which sustains discrimination is to be found among skilled workers in big industry as well as among craftsmen, and in the North almost as commonly as in the South. AND, OF COURSE, CONTRACTORS ARE ALSO CULPABLE IN EXCLUDING NEGRO WORKERS FROM SKILLED JOBS AND APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAMS.

The discriminatory policies and practices of craft unions are in direct contravention of sixteen state statutes prohibiting the barring of employment opportunities on the basis of race or color. They appear also to be in opposition to the intent of Executive Orders prohibiting discriminatory employment practices in the fulfillment of federal government contracts. They are also in direct violation of the ethos of a democratic trade union movement operating in a free society.

THE morality RECOMM~~ENDATION~~S

It is essential that federal and state agencies as a matter of basic policy refuse certification and withhold funds and other forms of subsidization from apprenticeship training programs refusing to admit Negroes or members of other minority groups; that municipal and county boards of education immediately withdraw all forms of support from discriminatory apprenticeship programs including the use of vocational school buildings and other facilities; that management institute fair employment policies and insure their fulfillment by subordinate employees and that the great industrial corporations operating with United States Government contracts must begin to comply with Federal Executive Orders prohibiting bias in employment.

Memo to: Mr. Randolph
Page Three
June 8, 1961

We believe that the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations must begin to seriously enforce its own anti-discrimination declarations in the matter of racial exclusion practices and segregation. The AFL-CIO Executive Council as well as international unions must assume direct responsibility and proceed to act against recalcitrant affiliates that have traditionally engaged in anti-Negro practices. We, further believe, that apprenticeship agencies have the responsibility to establish an atmosphere of equality of opportunity in which integration may be achieved by individual apprenticeship units especially in the matter of recruitment procedures and the establishment of objective standards which will be uniformly applied in accepting or rejecting applicants.

All of the foregoing should take place in the broad context of full employment and economic growth and should be given the highest priority by the basic institutions of American society, with the understanding that there is an urgent need to make possible the full realization of the abilities and talents of all of our citizens if the United States is to continue to function as a powerful and free nation in a world where industrial power is decisive.

A

and moral justification

/mso

Holmes

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1961 OCT 15 PM 1 04

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1201 (4-60)

VIA =UD NEW YORK 15TH

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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=B UDA033 (P LLF306 PD PHILADELPHIA PENN OCT 13 VIA HJ NY

=A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
AFL-CIO EXE COMM 208 WEST 125 ST NYK

=EACH TIME YOU BECOME VICTIM OF THE IMTEMPERATE ATTACKS BY YOUR =BIGOTED COLLEAGUES YOU GROW IN EVEN GREATER STATURE IN OUR =LOVE AND ADMIRATION WE DEPLORE THE MEANS BY WHICH GEORGE MEANY =HAS ATTEMPTED TO DIMINISH YOUR EFFECTIVENESS IN THE CAUSE OF =MANKIND WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL PRESEVERE AND WE PRAY THAT YOUR =VOICE WILL CONTINUE TO DISTURB THE ~~CONSC[illegible]IOUSNE~~ CONSCIENCES OF THOSE =WHO WOULD HOLD BACK THE DAWN. GOD BLESS YOU. WE LOVE YOU

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

= THE 60000 MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSN OF NEGRO BUSINESS =AND PROFESSIONAL WOMENS CLUBS FLORENCE ALLEN HOLMES PRES =• = =:

OCT 16 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

203 West 107th Street
New York 25, New York
January 18, 1961

Miss Bernice Wilds
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss Wilds,

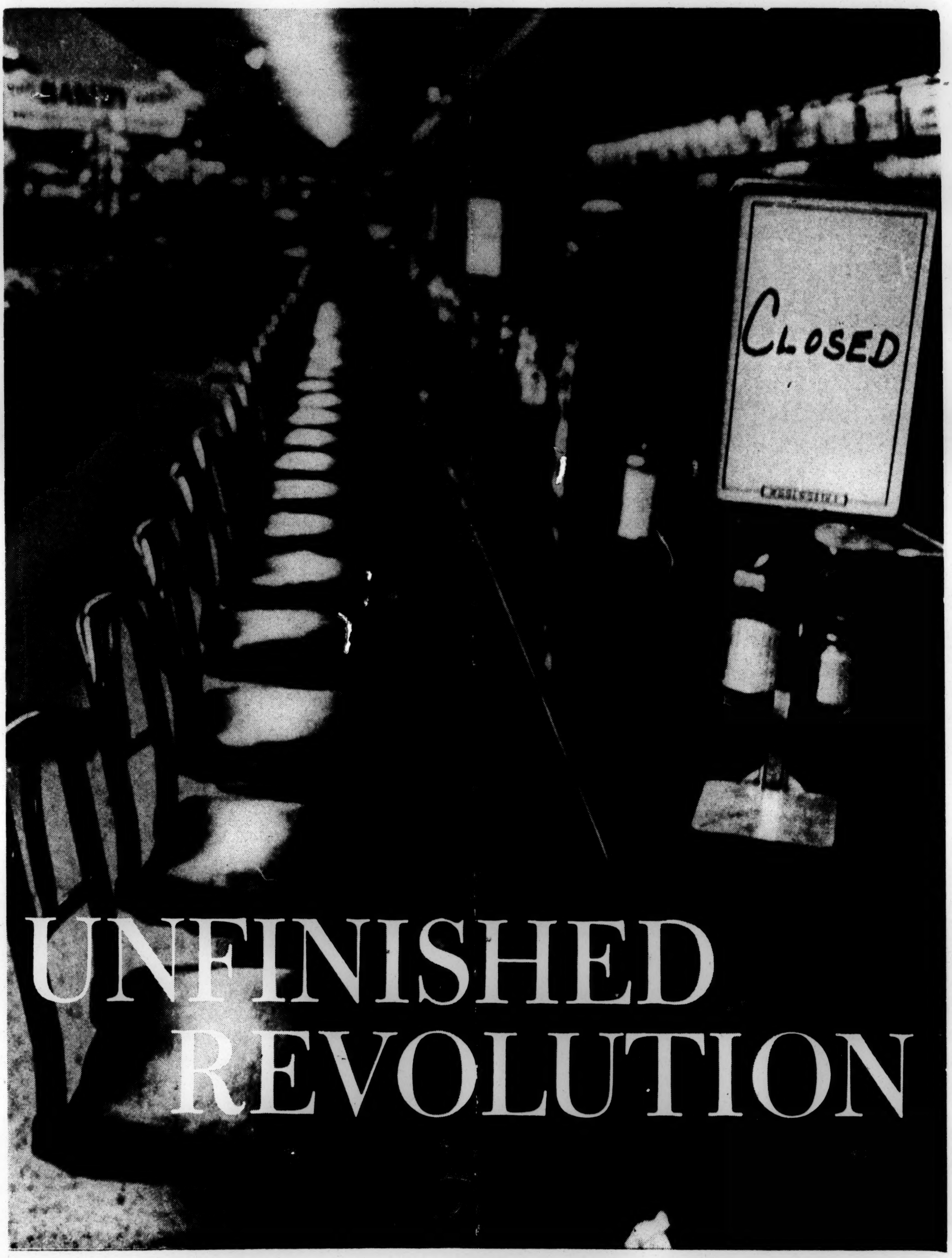
I have a request to make of you--and I know that if you're like me you'd rather have it in writing on your desk.

I don't know very much about what kinds of mailings the Brotherhood sends to its members in addition to The Black Worker, but I was wondering what the chances might be of bringing my pamphlet, Unfinished Revolution, to the attention of the Brotherhood's members through your mailings. I have enclosed a copy of a leaflet advertising the pamphlet (including a recommendation by Mr Randolph). A number of organizations have taken quantities of them for enclosure in their periodical mailings, and this seems to sell more copies than any other method. Do you think I might be able to get these stuffed into any Brotherhood mailing? (Needless to say, I would be available to do the stuffing!).

I know you will want to consult with Mr. Randolph on this. Meanwhile, I'll be by to see you on Friday.

Best,

Tom
Tom Kahn



UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

BY **TOM KAHN**

with Forewords by NORMAN THOMAS
and JAMES LAWSON

50c

UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, 64 pages with 14 illustrations and tables of sit-ins.
50c per copy and 12 copies for $5. postpaid; 13-99 copies at 40c; 100 copies at 35c

☐ ------------------ ☐

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE strongly recommends this brilliant, most complete account of the social revolution that is transforming America. *Unfinished Revolution* is *the* outstanding analysis of the movement, its background and implications.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH: *Unfinished Revolution* is, I state without qualification, required reading for all who would understand where the American Negro is going and by what road. No comparable recent work probes so deeply beneath the surface of this dramatic movement and comes up with so much challenging, provocative and new thinking.

NORMAN THOMAS: Not the least important consequence of the strikes begun by a handful of colored students in Greensboro, N. C. is the appearance of this important pamphlet. Its author, himself a young man, has shown unusual ability to think and write clearly about the Gandhian revolt of the Negro . . . Mr. Kahn states facts accurately, he interprets them persuasively and he suggests courses of action of great potential value for the realization of true democracy.

A. J. MUSTE: So far nonviolence has taken hold as a social force in America only among Southern Negroes. Some of the reasons for this and what they mean for the rest of us engaged in social protest are freshly and perceptively explored in *Unfinished Revolution.* This is an extremely important work; I recommend it highly.

REV. JAMES M. LAWSON, JR.: . . . a profound analysis not only of the Negro movement, but of the forces which must become our allies if they are themselves ever to live genuinely in dignity, freedom and peace.

NAT HENTOFF: Excellent . . . You can certainly quote me as saying that it's essential to understanding what the sit-ins really signify and what they portend for the future. It's also the most lucid analysis yet in print.

BAYARD RUSTIN: Increasingly, liberal whites are going to have to unstick themselves from token support and join the real movement. What that movement is and where it must lead are the theme of *Unfinished Revolution.* Its thesis needs the widest circulation among white liberals and Negro leaders alike. There has been nothing like it in years.

JAMES BALDWIN: This is the most penetrating and eloquent study of the student movement I have yet read. Its importance lies in the fact that, instead of encouraging an all too facile sentimentality, it demands that we really face the implications of this ferment. It is a struggle which involves us all, and which is capable of bringing about a great moral revolution in our lives.

- -

LIBERATION PRESS
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Enclosed is $..................for..................copies of *Unfinished Revolution.*

NAME____

ADDRESS____

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98

July 18, 1961

Honorable John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Lest Pandora's Box of Zeus, mightiest of Olympian gods, be broken open with its evil omens and portents of racism by the Civil War Centennial, a far-reaching and collosal brainwashing enterprise against the civil rights liberation revolution, I appeal to you under the moral challenge of your proclaimed New Frontiers of human rights and human liberty to reject invitation to visit, honor and sanction with your presence and voice the announced reenactment of the Battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1961, which has been planned and will be conducted as a field day for Virginia segregationists.

Indeed, it would be immensely ironical were the President of the United States, whose responsibility is the enforcement of the law of the land, to honor this mockery of democracy at a time when all efforts to open the public schools of Prince Edward County of Virginia in compliance with the memorable decision of the U. S. Supreme Court of 1954 outlawing racially segregated public schools, has been contemptuously resisted and rejected.

With your fine background of American history I am confident you will not be taken in by the transparent facade of selecting General Ulysses S. Grant, III, grandson of the great Union Army military leader who stopped the Confederate Army at Appomattox, as the chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission. I recall that you had no little difficulty in convincing him that jim-crow hotel arrangements for Negro delegates to the national assembly of participating organizations in Charleston, South Carolina in April, 1961 was intolerable in view of the fact that federal funds were involved. I need not tell you that this firm and forthright action on your part met with not only approbation, but wide acclaim among Negroes throughout the nation.

Well has Howard N. Meyer sharply pointed out in an article entitled Rally Round What Flag? in the June 9 issue of COMMONWEAL, which reads as follows:

> "One is first tempted to say that the Commission's plans have been marked by a kind of equal treatment; reverence as much for the Stars and Bars as for the Stars and Stripes; honor as much for Jefferson Davis as for Abraham Lincoln; tributes for the Boys in Gray as much as the Boys in Blue; equality, that is, for all except the Negro.
>
> "A similar thought had occurred to the Founding Fathers of 1789. They had provided in Article III of the Constitution that "treason against the United States shall consist.... in levying war against them." When the firing on Fort Sumter was reenacted in a setting of live magnolias, who was there to remind the play-actors, in ever so small a voice, that the original shot was, after all, treason?"

Without a doubt, this Civil War Centennial Celebration is a massive, sinister, ultra-Fascist, racial cold war against the new uncompromising surge of black Americans to achieve complete political, economic and social equality, and is certain to do grave damage to the image of our country among the peoples of Africa and Asia.

It seeks adroitly psychologically to condition the American mind in the decade of the Sixties so as to prepare it to turn back the clock of Negro liberation.

The dubious integrity of this grandiose commemoration of the Civil War Centennial is severely laid bare by the fact that in its glossy brochure called, Facts About the Civil War, it is utterly free of any reference to the Negro, the enslavement of whom was the main raison d'etre of the conflict; and although Negro soldiers constituted twelve per cent of the victorious Union Army and sustained eighteen per cent of the fatalities.

While I do not object to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Civil War as a war of emancipation, I seriously deplore the use of it for the deification of the cult of the Confederacy and the use of it to count down the Negro, one-tenth of the population, who have fought, bled and died in every war to make our country free, strong and great.

Plagued by inner anxieties stemming from a guilt complex, fears and frustrations, as a result of the enslavement of the black man for a quarter of a thousand years, this Civil War Centennial commemoration is a gesture of escape from the moral judgement of the world through rationalization of failure of atonement for this great sin against the human spirit.

Verily, this is no time to permit some sectional, sectarian, racial minority, fanatically committed to the southern color caste culture, to play the role of an earth-bound Prometheus to steal the fire of liberty from the heavens of American democracy.

Very respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

Presidential Documents

Title 3—THE PRESIDENT

Executive Order 10925

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

WHEREAS discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin is contrary to the Constitutional principles and policies of the United States; and

WHEREAS it is the plain and positive obligation of the United States Government to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on government contracts; and

WHEREAS it is the policy of the executive branch of the Government to encourage by positive measures equal opportunity for all qualified persons within the Government; and

WHEREAS it is in the general interest and welfare of the United States to promote its economy, security, and national defense through the most efficient and effective utilization of all available manpower; and

WHEREAS a review and analysis of existing Executive orders, practices, and government agency procedures relating to government employment and compliance with existing non-discrimination contract provisions reveal an urgent need for expansion and strengthening of efforts to promote full equality of employment opportunity; and

WHEREAS a single governmental committee should be charged with responsibility for accomplishing these objectives:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

SECTION 101. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

SEC. 102. The Committee shall be composed as follows:

(a) The Vice President of the United States, who is hereby designated Chairman of the Committee and who shall preside at meetings of the Committee.

(b) The Secretary of Labor, who is hereby designated Vice Chairman of the Committee and who shall act as Chairman in the absence of the Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall have general supervision and direction of the work of the Committee and of the execution and implementation of the policies and purposes of this order.

(c) The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Secretary of Commerce, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the Administrator of General Services, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Each such member may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

(d) Such other members as the President may from time to time appoint.

(e) An Executive Vice Chairman, designated by the President, who shall be *ex officio* a member of the Committee. The Executive Vice Chairman shall assist the Chairman, the Vice Chairman and the Committee. Between meetings of the Committee he shall be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee and may act for the Committee pursuant to its rules, delegations, and other directives. Final action in individual cases or classes of cases may be taken and final orders may be entered on behalf of the Committee by the Executive Vice Chairman when the Committee so authorizes.

SEC. 103. The Committee shall meet upon the call of the Chairman and at such other times as may be provided by its rules and regulations. It shall (a) consider and adopt rules and regulations to govern its proceedings; (b) provide generally for the procedures and policies to implement this order; (c) consider reports as to progress under this order; (d) consider and act, where necessary or appropriate, upon matters which may be presented to it by any of its members; and (e) make such reports to the President as he may require or the Committee shall deem appropriate. Such reports shall be made at least once annually and shall include specific references to the actions taken and results achieved by each department and agency. The Chairman may appoint sub-committees to make special studies on a continuing basis.

PART II—NONDISCRIMINATION IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

SECTION 201. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established by this order is directed immediately to scrutinize and study employment practices of the Government of the United States, and to consider and recommend additional affirmative steps which should be taken by executive departments and agencies to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the Government.

SEC. 202. All executive departments and agencies are directed to initiate forthwith studies of current government employment practices within their responsibility. The studies shall be in such form as the Committee may prescribe and shall include statistics on current employment patterns, a review of current procedures, and the recommendation of positive measures for the elimination of any discrimination, direct or indirect, which now exists. Reports and recommendations shall be submitted to the Executive Vice Chairman of the Committee no later than sixty days from the effective date of this order, and the Committee, after considering such reports and recommedations, shall report to the President on the current situation and recommend positive measures to accomplish the objectives of this order.

SEC. 203. The policy expressed in Executive Order No. 10590 of January 18, 1955 (20 F.R. 409), with respect to the exclusion and prohibition of discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, color, religion, or national origin is hereby reaffirmed.

SEC. 204. The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, established by Executive Order No. 10590 of January 18, 1955 (20 F.R. 409), as amended by Executive Order No. 10722 of August 5, 1957 (22 F.R. 6287), is hereby abolished, and the powers, functions, and duties of that Committee are hereby transferred to, and henceforth shall be vested in, and exercised by, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in addition to the powers conferred by this order.

PART III—OBLIGATIONS OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS

SUBPART A—CONTRACTORS' AGREEMENTS

SECTION 301. Except in contracts exempted in accordance with section 303 of this order, all government contracting agencies shall include in every government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

"In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the said labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under this section, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

"(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity created thereby.

"(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the said Committee, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contracting agency and the Committee for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

"(6) In the event of the contractor's non-compliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of the said rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies invoked as provided in the said Executive order or by rule, regulation, or order of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, or as otherwise provided by law.

"(7) The contractor will include the provisions of the foregoing paragraphs (1) through (6) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity issued pursuant to section 303 of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions, including sanctions for non-compliance: *Provided, however*, that in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States."

SEC. 302. (a) Each contractor having a contract containing the provisions prescribed in section 301 shall file, and shall cause each of its subcontractors to file, Compliance Reports with the contracting agency, which will be subject to review by the Committee upon its request. Compliance Reports shall be filed within such times and shall contain such information as to the practices, policies, programs, and employment statistics of the contractor and each subcontractor, and shall be in such form, as the Committee may prescribe.

(b) Bidders or prospective contractors or subcontractors may be required to state whether they have participated in any previous contract subject to the provisions of this order, and in that event to submit, on behalf of themselves and their proposed subcontractors, Compliance Reports prior to or as an initial part of their bid or negotiation of a contract.

(c) Whenever the contractor or subcontractor has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding with a labor union or other representative of workers, the Compliance Report shall include such information as to the labor union's or other representative's practices and policies affecting compliance as the Committee may prescribe: *Provided*, that to the extent such information is within the exclusive possession of a labor union or other workers' representative and the labor union or representative shall refuse to furnish such information to the contractor, the contractor shall so certify to the contracting agency as part of its Compliance Report and shall set forth what efforts he has made to obtain such information.

(d) The Committee may direct that any bidder or prospective contractor or subcontractor shall submit, as part of his Compliance Report, a statement in writing, signed by an authorized officer or agent of any labor union or other workers' representative with which the bidder or prospective contractor deals, together with supporting information, to the effect that the said labor union's or representative's practices and policies do not discriminate on the grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin, and that the labor union or representative either will affirmatively cooperate, within the limits of his legal and contractual authority, in the implementation of the policy and provisions of this order or that it consents and agrees that recruitment, employment, and the terms and conditions of employment under the proposed contract shall be in accordance with the purposes and provisions of the order. In the event that the union or representative shall refuse to execute such a statement, the Compliance Report shall so certify and set forth what efforts have been made to secure such a statement.

SEC. 303. The Committee may, when it deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require, exempt a contracting agency from the requirement of including the provisions of section 301 of this order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order. The Committee may, by rule or regulation, also exempt certain classes of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders (a) where work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved; (b) for standard commercial supplies or raw materials; or (c) involving less than specified amounts of money or specified numbers of workers.

SUBPART B—LABOR UNIONS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF WORKERS

SEC. 304. The Committee shall use its best efforts, directly and through contracting agencies, contractors, state and local officials and public and private agencies, and all other available instrumentalities, to cause any labor union, recruiting agency or other representative of workers who is or may be engaged in work under government contracts to cooperate with, and to comply in the implementation of, the purposes of this order.

SEC. 305. The Committee may, to effectuate the purposes of section 304 of this order, hold hearings, public or private, with respect to the practices and policies of any such labor organization. It shall from time to time submit special reports to the President concerning discriminatory practices and policies of any such labor organization, and may recommend remedial action if, in its judgment, such action is necessary or appropriate. It may also notify any Federal, state, or local agency of its conclusions and recommendations with respect to any such labor organization which in its judgment has failed to cooperate with the Committee, contracting agencies, contractors, or subcontractors in carrying out the purposes of this order.

SUBPART C—POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY AND OF CONTRACTING AGENCIES

SEC. 306. The Committee shall adopt such rules and regulations and issue such orders as it deems necessary and appropriate to achieve the purposes of this order, including the purposes of Part II hereof relating to discrimination in government employment.

SEC. 307. Each contracting agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the rules, regulations, and orders of the Committee with respect to contracts entered into by such agency or its contractors, or affecting its own employment practices. All contracting agencies shall comply with the Committee's rules in discharging their primary responsibility for securing compliance with the provisions of contracts and otherwise with the terms of this Executive order and of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Committee pursuant hereto. They are directed to cooperate with the Committee, and to furnish the Committee such information and assistance as it may require in the performance of its functions under this order. They are further directed to appoint or designate, from among the agency's personnel, compliance officers. It shall be the duty of such officers to seek compliance with the objectives of this order by conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion.

SEC. 308. The Committee is authorized to delegate to any officer, agency, or employee in the executive branch of the

Government any function of the Committee under this order, except the authority to promulgate rules and regulations of a general nature.

SEC. 309. (a) The Committee may itself investigate the employment practices of any government contractor or subcontractor, or initiate such investigation by the appropriate contracting agency or through the Secretary of Labor, to determine whether or not the contractual provisions specified in section 301 of this order have been violated. Such investigation shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures established by the Commitee, and the investigating agency shall report to the Committee any action taken or recommended.

(b) The Committee may receive and cause to be investigated complaints by employees or prospective employees of a government contractor or subcontractor which allege discrimination contrary to the contractual provisions specified in section 301 of this Order. The appropriate contracting agency or the Secretary of Labor, as the case may be, shall report to the Committee what action has been taken or is recommended with regard to such complaints.

SEC. 310. (a) The Committee, or any agency or officer of the United States designated by rule, regulation, or order of the Committee, may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

(b) The Committee may hold, or cause to be held, hearings in accordance with subsection (a) of this section prior to imposing, ordering, or recommending the imposition of penalties and sanctions under this order, except that no order for debarment of any contractor from further government contracts shall be made without a hearing.

SEC. 311. The Committee shall encourage the furtherance of an educational program by employer, labor, civic, educational, religious, and other nongovernmental groups in order to eliminate or reduce the basic causes of discrimination in employment on the ground of race, creed, color, or national origin.

SUBPART D—SANCTIONS AND PENALTIES

SEC. 312. In accordance with such rules, regulations or orders as the Committee may issue or adopt, the Committee or the appropriate contracting agency may:

(a) Publish, or cause to be published, the names of contractors or unions which it has concluded have complied or have failed to comply with the provisions of this order or of the rules, regulations, and orders of the Committee.

(b) Recommend to the Department of Justice that, in cases where there is substantial or material violation or the threat of substantial or material violation of the contractual provisions set forth in section 301 of this order, appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce those provisions, including the enjoining, within the limitations of applicable law, of organizations, individuals or groups who prevent directly or indirectly, or seek to prevent directly or indirectly, compliance with the aforesaid provisions.

(c) Recommend to the Department of Justice that criminal proceedings be brought for the furnishing of false information to any contracting agency or to the Committee as the case may be.

(d) Terminate, or cause to be terminated, any contract, or any portion or portions thereof, for failure of the contractor or subcontractor to comply with the nondiscrimination provisions of the contract. Contracts may be terminated absolutely or continuance of contracts may be conditioned upon a program for future compliance approved by the contracting agency.

(e) Provide that any contracting agency shall refrain from entering into further contracts, or extensions or other modifications of existing contracts, with any non-complying contractor, until such contractor has satisfied the Committee that he has established and will carry out personnel and employment policies in compliance with the provisions of this order.

(f) Under rules and regulations prescribed by the committee, each contracting agency shall make reasonable efforts within a reasonable time limitation to secure compliance with the contract provisions of this order by methods of conference, conciliation, mediation, and persuasion before proceedings shall be instituted under paragraph (b) of this section, or before a contract shall be terminated in whole or in part under paragraph (d) of this section for failure of a contractor or subcontractor to comply with the contract provisions of this order.

SEC. 313. Any contracting agency taking any action authorized by this section, whether on its own motion, or as directed by the Committee, or under the Committee's rules and regulations, shall promptly notify the Committee of such action or reasons for not acting. Where the Committee itself makes a determination under this section, it shall promptly notify the appropriate contracting agency of the action recommended. The agency shall take such action and shall report the results thereof to the Committee within such time as the Committee shall provide.

SEC. 314. If the Committee shall so direct, contracting agencies shall not enter into contracts with any bidder or prospective contractor unless the bidder or prospective contractor has satisfactorily complied with the provisions of this order or submits a program for compliance acceptable to the Committee or, if the Committee so authorizes, to the contracting agency.

SEC. 315. Whenever a contracting agency terminates a contract, or whenever a contractor has been debarred from further government contracts, because of noncompliance with the contractor provisions with regard to nondiscrimination, the Committee, or the contracting agency involved, shall promptly notify the Comptroller General of the United States.

SUBPART E—CERTIFICATES OF MERIT

SEC. 316. The Committee may provide for issuance of a United States Government Certificate of Merit to employers or employee organizations which are or may hereafter be engaged in work under government contracts, if the Committee is satisfied that the personnel and employment practices of the employer, or that the personnel, training, apprenticeship, membership, grievance and representation, upgrading and other practices and policies of the employee organization, conform to the purposes and provisions of this order.

SEC. 317. Any Certificate of Merit may at any time be suspended or revoked by the Committee if the holder thereof, in the judgment of the Committee, has failed to comply with the provisions of this order.

SEC. 318. The Committee may provide for the exemption of any employer or employee organization from any requirement for furnishing information as to compliance if such employer or employee organization has been awarded a Certificate of Merit which has not been suspended or revoked.

PART IV—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 401. Each contracting agency (except the Department of Justice) shall defray such necessary expenses of the Committee as may be authorized by law, including section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691): *Provided*, that no agency shall supply more than fifty per cent of the funds necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Department of Labor shall provide necessary space and facilities for the Committee. In the case of the Department of Justice, the contribution shall be limited to furnishing legal services.

SEC. 402. This order shall become effective thirty days after its execution. The General Services Administration shall take appropriate action to revise the standard Government contract forms to accord with the provisions of this order and of the rules and regulations of the Committee.

SEC. 403. Executive Order No. 10479 of August 13, 1953 (18 F.R. 4899), together with Executive Orders Nos. 10482 of August 15, 1953 (18 F.R. 4944), and 10733 of October 10, 1957 (22 F.R. 8135), amending that order, and Executive Order No. 10557 of September 3, 1954 (19 F.R. 5655), are hereby revoked, and the Government Contract Committee established by Executive Order No. 10479 is abolished. All records and property of or in the custody of the said Committee are hereby transferred to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which shall wind up the outstanding affairs of the Government Contract Committee.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE,
March 6, 1961.

[F.R. Doc. 61-2093; Filed, Mar. 7, 1961; 10:06 a.m.]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1961

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President wants me to thank you for your forthright letter of July 18 concerning the reenactment of the Battle of Bull Run, which was held last week-end. The President did not attend the affair as he declined the invitation when it was extended some weeks ago.

He appreciates receiving your views about the Civil War Centennial.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harris Wofford

Harris Wofford
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
National President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1961
[illegible]

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1201 (4-60)

1961 OCT 17 PM 12 04

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GPA044 BC140 = B YZD010 :CALIF 16 =

(LLT052) NL PD VIA NJ (UNKN 217 W 17) LOS ANGELES =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK

=DEAR BROTHER RANDOLPH THE LOS ANGELES DIVISION EXECUTIVE BOARD =WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO KNOW THAT THEY ARE 100 PERCENT WITH YOU IN YOUR FIGHT FOR THE RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY OF ALL AMERICANS =WE AGREE WITH YOU WHOLWHEARTEDLY AND PRAISE YOU FOR =YOUR COURAGEOUS STAND =

LOS ANGELES DIVISION EXECUTIVE BOARD. = ==

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Department of Civic, Education and Governmental Affairs
Upholsterers' International Union of North America, AFL-CIO
(AFFILIATE OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION)

SAL B. HOFFMANN, *Chairman*
ALFRED R. ROTA, Vice-Chairman
R. ALVIN ALBARINO, *Treasurer*
ARTHUR G. McDOWELL,
Director, U.S.A.

(Designated Political
Fund Agency)
"National U.I.U. Trades
Campaign Committee"

1500 NORTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA 21, PA.
POplar 5-7671

Washington Office
Suite 502 - 100 Indiana Ave.
Washington 1, D.C.
DIstrict 7-0875

VICTOR T. VALIN
Director, Canada
133 Coleridge Ave.
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
EMpire 4-0571

March 21, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th St. - Room 301
New York, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

I note by the March 12 issue of The Worker in a front-page feature that you are sponsoring a national conference on trade unionists on international and domestic issues in Chicago, April 14 and 15, under the direction of the Friends Service Committee.

I am in Chicago myself earlier that week to address a slightly different type of conference at the Hotel Sherman, on which I enclose a program. If you are going to be in Chicago in advance of your own conference, I would be delighted to have you drop in on Tuesday, April 11, morning session, at least, where I am presenting labor's historic role and viewpoint as I see them.

I appreciate your great concern with the issues, but I should warn you, from long experience, that the front-page story in The Worker of March 12, 1961, by Sam Kushner, is the signal to all the communist boys in the trade union movement, working openly or as sleepers, to crowd into your April 14-15 conference. I have watched with considerable interest the increasing play given in the communist press to the American Friends Service Committee and Quakers generally, whose historic pacifism fits very well into their plans and is being used by the communists, just as it fitted into and served Hitler's purpose in the days before World War II. I bid you to be quite vigilant lest you find yourself penetrated and infiltrated, as had Norman Cousins and his associates in the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in New York and other places.

I also may have some divergent company over at my conference, but I have the advantage that all of them are identified and identifiable, when your problem will not be so simple.

Best regards.

Fraternally yours,

Arthur G. McDowell

Arthur G. McDowell, Director
Dept. Civic, Educ. & Gov't. Affairs

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Encl.

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1961

Mr. Arthur G. McDowell
Upholsterers' International Union
1500 North Broad Street
Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania

Dear Arthur:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 21st.

I note your reference to the conference of the Friends Committee in Chicago. I don't plan to be present. You may be assured that the communist forces will not take over anything I have anything to do with although we don't have time to look under every bed for a communist.

Keep up the good work.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Department of Civic, Education and Governmental Affairs
Upholsterers' International Union of North America, AFL-CIO
(AFFILIATE OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION)

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March 27, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Int'l. President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

Thanks for your letter of March 24 in answer to mine of March 21, which also went to Arnold Zander and Pat Gorman.

Arnold tells me that he is not going either, but Pat Gorman will. This is like sending your heart but not your eyes or your ears out to the gathering.

I am not being abnormally suspicious, but your name has become a great name in the struggle for human rights and dignity within these United States and beyond, and is not something I would see appropriated even temporarily for any purpose to serve those who are enrolled in another cause entirely.

Individual Quakers for over 160some years have shown a special itch to conduct their country's foreign policy. The Logan Act, passed in the 1790s at Washington's behest, is named after the Quaker who thought to second guess the American Secretary of State and his special commission in dealing with the corrupt and conniving Directorate of the French Revolution at the time of the scandal of the XYZ papers. Because of their good repute and works which are beyond dispute, certain elements in the American Friends Service Committee exploit their reputation and play a pretty irresponsible role.

Some years ago, while our Charlotte was still in her early high school years, the Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia invited her and other youngsters of the student World Affairs Council to a meeting to hear their delegation give their visiting firemen's report on their tour of the Soviet Union. When they got there they found there were no speakers, just tapes, which was pretty dull. But after the meeting the educational director for the Communist Party just happened to drop

Executive Committee
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DOUGLAS WOODALL, Dallas, Texas
VICTOR T. VALIN, Toronto, Can.

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in and the adults of the Friends Service Committee in charge thought it was a delicious idea to go off and wash the dishes and leave the youngsters to tangle with a professional.

On another occasion a Quaker friend of mine, Henry Patterson, whom I have worked with in his great enthusiasm which has been the National Negro College Fund and related matters, wrote a letter to the old communist Teachers' Union of Philadelphia, expelled in turn from the A.F. of T and later from the C.I.O. as part of the State, County and Municipal Workers for communist domination, and asked them to quit sending propaganda appeals to his wife (who is a teacher) and himself since they weren't naive simply because they were Quakers. The letter did get some publicity and Clarence Pickett and General Hugh B. Hester turned up at Patterson's office to wrestle with him in terms of a religious and prayerful appeal, urging him to repudiate this well related and founded attack on the communist Teachers' operation.

When, therefore, I saw your name along with Zander's and Pat Gorman's, featured in The Worker of March 12 on the front page and editorially in The Worker of March 19 in two places, where you and the rest of the six are identified as people representing the break away, or, as their phrase reads, "digression on AFL-CIO international policies," I was much concerned personally.
Both Zander's and Pat Gorman's letters did seem to indicate that their signatures were secured by the old trick of kiting signatures, like a check, that is, sending each person the other five names with the statement that everybody else had signed. If this is true, then some very sharp practice is indicated which you have a real reason to resent and which has severe implications as to who is actually calling the tune on tactics in this International Conference on Peace, Jobs and Freedom.

I haven't heard from Carey, Rosenblum or Mazey, and scarcely expect that I shall.

I would think that my concern and interest in the matter somewhat personal and affectionate in your case and I hope that you will take it as such in the spirit that it is meant.

With every best regard and good wish, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

Arthur G McDowell

Arthur G. McDowell, Director
Dept. Civic, Educ. & Gov't. Affairs

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MAR 28 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COPY FOR MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

April 3, 1961

Mr. James B. Carey, President
Int'l. Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers
1126 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your letter of March 27 in comment on my queries and remarks of the 21st on our respective conferences and company in Chicago this forthcoming second week of April.

I more or less assumed that you, like myself, do not ever relax vigilance to the point of failing to notice what the comrades are signaling to their sappers and moles in the field, as point of action, through The Worker and the whole spectrum of their open and fellow traveling press from the National Guardian to The Nation and I. F. Stone's weekly service.

As I suspected also, however, three at least out of the six international union officers mentioned were not as well prepared or informed and there seems to be some evidence that those signing them up kited signatures by showing to each one of the three the signatures of others as already signed up, regardless of the timing of actual signature. If someone did engage in such all too familiar fast practice, it would be, of course, a very serious and indicative kind of unethical practice. None of you of the big six would be involved, but when I see Sidney Lens connected with anything I tend to get my toes dug in for a fast curve ball of an old and familiar pitching style.

Of course, you are right when you say that if we shy away from any sound and necessary activity in furtherance of any good goal on account of the expression of support for it by people or groups we find ourselves opposed to on one or many or even all other issues, we would give other people we may even particularly or personally dislike complete veto over our freedom of action. I pointed this out recently to Mrs. Roosevelt in a discussion of the Freedom Academy and Commission bill, which the AFL-CIO backed from the first, although it calls for us to set up parallel training institutions for freedom's cause and fighters to those many institutions set up by the Soviet for their reactionary and tyrannical cause, in the nineteen twenties. Of course, ours would be a Lincoln kind of inspired institute, as theirs was a Lenin inspired one, and the vital difference is immediately crystal clear in the two personalities. In short, in practical matters I would not insist that we eat soup with a fork because the communists eat it with a spoon. My argument in the foregoing case must have been convincing because the gracious lady said she saw our point and put herself on record for the bill to Senator Dodd.

Of course, I would not knowingly join in the same voluntary organization with the communists, however good the objective asserted of peace, prosperity, justice, civil rights, etc., because I know, from long historical and personal experience, that the communists don't intend to serve any of those objectives as I understand and desire them, and, if they can secure control, will use the common effort to bring about their opposites. I saw George Rockwell's American Nazis picketing the headquarters of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington the other day and even if I agreed with their displayed sentiments about the Chamber of Commerce completely, I wouldn't be caught dead in the same voluntary operation with them. Of course, foreign affairs is a little different and I went along on the alliance with mass murderer and totalitarian dictator Joseph Stalin to destroy his former and much regretted partner, spiritual twin and comrade in conquest Adolph Hitler, but I never had any illusion or festered anyone else's illusion that it was anything but a temporary convenience for both sides to be watchfully dissolved as soon as the only thing we had in common, the necessary distruction of Hitler, was accomplished. This was the insight of the tough, old, but shrewd Duke of Wellington in 1815. As soon as Napoleon was surely overthrown Wellington devoted his most vigorous efforts to restoring the defeated nation, France, and to getting his erstwhile allies, Prussia and Russia, back within their own old borders as completely and rapidly as possible. The Marshall memo, by that politically untalented and entirely overrated individual in 1943 at Quebec instead, while correctly estimating that our defeat of Germany and Japan would create vast power vacuums in both places, then called for maximum effort to appease the Soviet power, which would inevitably try to fill them instead of restoring the de-Nazified Germany as quickly as possible and getting our unwilling ally Stalin as far back as soon as possible. Instead of reconstitution of a revised German and democratic state, Roosevelt was persuaded to play around with the so-called Morganthau plan, planted on him by the Sovietphile, if not outright communist agent Harry Dexter White who ran international affairs at Treasury.

The whole post war policy from 1943 until the Truman declaration of the containment doctrine on Greece and Turkey in 1947, including U.N.R.A., the Marshall mission to China, the World Federation of Trade Union policy in the private sector were disasters based on wishful denial of well known facts and realities. The aggressive Soviet empire was rebuilt and expanded with our aid and consent in those years and we did not really wake up until the Zorin directed seizure of Czechoslovakia and

and the Berlin Blockade of 1948.

I see no point to starting repeating the costly errors and nourishing the disastrous illusion of 1943-8 all over again, as groups like the dominant elements in the American Friends Service Committee, who are running your Chicago conference, believe we should do. Since the Quaker Logan in the 1790s provoked Congress into passing the Logan Act, forbidding private citizens from carrying on diplomatic communication with foreign governments, by his naive and meddling attempts to second guess the Secretary of State and the special U. S. Commission, in dealing with the corrupt and unscrupulous French Revolutionary Directorate in Paris, an element in the Society of Friends with the same itch of the self-proclaimed simple and nonconformist for dealing with the powerful, shown by William Penn in clinging to discredited James II and the title of the "King's Friend" when every other element of leadership had abandoned him, these elements have yearned to negotiate peace for a people they have never won to their principles with assorted tyrants of the worst sort, who had total contempt for the Quaker principles but a shrewd estimate of their (the Quakers) high individual and collective repute in the U. S. and therefore ability to confuse their fellow countrymen. There may have been individual lives preserved by escape, of which I know not, but I don't believe that a single thing was accomplished in delaying war one day or saving one life within Hitler's power by the Quaker delegation that the beloved Rufus Jones and others led to Herman Goerring and his colleagues, one of these delegations by prior appointment going to see Goerring after the Nazis, under Goerring et al's direction had set fire on same night to every synagogue in Germany. On the other hand, the delegations did foster the illusion in the west that Hitler and his boys were people amenable to reason and appeals to decency like other men.

You need not at this date send to me material on my fellow speaker on the panel at the Chicago Military-Industrial and Educational Conference on the 11th. I have read Mr. Bouleware's effusing on unions, collective bargaining, industrial relations and related matters. If he should, as seems unlikely, get so completely off the subject we are scheduled to discuss as to get into those fields on which I heartily disagree with him, I shall have no hesitation and, as you should well know, no lack of ability or willingness to call him to time.

Your task with your non-trade union sponsors at your gathering at the Morrison may be tougher than with the Communist Party following and members turned out there by the signals and instruction carried to them by their official organ The Worker in its issues of March 12 and19. I have a great admiration for the modern relief and physical aid work of the American Friends Service Committee, as I have for the individual witness of Quakers throughout their history. I have no great trust or admiration for their collective political judgment since if their majority sentiment, strongly influenced by the material interest of their wealthy English brethern, had prevailed at the beginning of our country, most of my Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish ancestors would have been hanged as traitors instead of honored as patriots. However, while they never permitted their operations abroad to be taken over and actually used as base for Soviet espionage operations, as was the case with our imitative and even more naïve Unitarian Service Committee in Western Europe after World War II, they have carried their apparently strong belief that Christian charity forbids them to denounce communist crimes or even to critically mention them to strange extremes.

My daughter, when in high school, was invited through her World Affairs Council group to attend a meeting at Friends Service Committee headquarters to hear the report on their conducted and limited tour of Soviet Russia of a high minded Quaker delegation, without knowledge of the Russian language or history or of the nature of communist institutions or practices. When she got there the speakers were not there, just tapes of their previous addresses, a little bit of sharp practice on high school students. Later in the evening a more interesting person turned up quite live, the educational director of the Communist Party, a mature professional who just happened to drop in and who held forth with the young and inexperienced students, while the adults in charge for Friends scrupulously stayed at a distance doing the "Martha's" work of washing up after the refreshments. When I remonstrated to the school board and World Affairs Council, I was told that the Friends thought this quite the delightful thing to do, although it seemed that few or no children of the members of the Society of Friends were present then or on other occasions.

On another occasion, in the case of the old left-wing Philadelphia Teachers' Union, Mary Foley Grossman, which group was, as you know, expelled years ago from our American Federation of Teachers for communist domination and then expelled as part of the old State, County and Municipal Workers from C.I.O. for the same reason, a conservative Quaker friend of mine wrote them a note on behalf of himself and his wife, who was a teacher, asking them to discontinue their bombardment of propaganda for their members on trial for refusing to discuss their party membership in relation to their teachers' responsibility and trust with school authorities. He asked if they thought that just because he and his wife were Quakers, they were also naive. The letter got some publicity in a Philadelphia daily newspaper through a friend and he was immediately visited by the then head of the Friends Service Committee and a former General in the U. S. Army who had become a perpetual apologist and defender of Soviet policies, who gave him a stiff afternoon of friendly persuasion by prayer and every other pressure in a concentrated but vain attempt to get him to repudiate his own letter and alter his views. This was some years ago, but I picked up a circular for a Friends' Forum in Frankford this winter and found three of four speakers were communist fellow travelers whom you would recognize immediately.

This would seem to make the discussion of such matters by you with your friends in Chicago most pertinent, since the communist press has summoned its minions in the unions to rally 'round for your meeting in Chicago, April 14-15, and make it the basis for a dissent from, if not an attack on AFL-CIO policy, and the announcement says that, while confined to unionists, the arrangements will all be handled by the Friends Service Committee, rather a case of setting the cat to watch the cream, in view of the record as well as philosophy of the Committee.

For myself, I shall not soon forget how in March of 1943, when the true inwardness of Soviet policy was revealed by their cynical announcement, now that Stalingrad was relieved, that they had murdered the Polish Jewish Social Democrat and labor leaders Ehrlich and Alter over a year before, and now sought to blacken the good names of these grand men of labor, helpless in death, you rose in your rightful anger, defied the threats of the then communist stooge president of the C.I.O. Maritime Union and the pressured whine of fellow travelers like the Furniture Union president, even ignored the timid doubts of the saintly Phil Murray and went off to speak your piece in protest at the mass labor protest meeting in New York City, even in wartime against our far from noble ally. I remember that well meaning men like Wendel Willkie, who had taken Green and Murray's joint protest over the supposed mere continued imprisonment of two men to Stalin and been given a treacherous promise to look into it by the man who had already ordered them murdered, turned back in the face of the threats and pressures you defied. Perhaps Chicago would be the appropriate place to read a needed lesson to our naive friends of the Service Committee about the nature of the men whom they would have us deal with so trustingly and almost as if communists were only Quakers under the skin, instead of, as they really are, men with an exclusive passion for power for that Communism that corrups even the normal feelings in the normal human breast, just as truly as it did in the breast of Goerring, Hitler or Eichmann. You can say it well. The time, the occasion and the company seem appropriate

With best wishes and regards and kindest memory of those days in 1943 when you and I were of the few that even in wartime with the necessities of war and public policy in respect to an unhappy and unwilling co-belligerent like Stalin, whatever we had dared to think that dare we also say, and most publicly at that.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur G. McDowell, Director
Dept. Civic, Educ. & Gov't. Affairs

AGMcD:mb
oeiu-14

COPY

Department of Civic, Education and Governmental Affairs

Upholsterers' International Union of North America, AFL-CIO

(AFFILIATE OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION)

SAL B. HOFFMANN, *Chairman*
ALFRED R. ROTA, Vice-Chairman
R. ALVIN ALBARINO, *Treasurer*
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Director, U.S.A.

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133 Coleridge Ave.
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EMpire 4-0571

April 26, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, Int'l. President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

I thought you would be interested in an autostat of the story in the Communist Worker on the Chicago conference as held and its results.

I think you will note that it was successfully used because some of our less responsible trade union colleagues were a little irresponsible even in their direct participation as an attack on the unity of the AFL-CIO on the international scene, maintained since we pulled Mazey and Rosenblum unwillingly, and others more cheerfully, out of the W.F.T.U. embrace in 1949.

I know right well the genuine individual grievance you have in respect to George Meany, but I also know you too well to even think for a moment that you would permit it to sway you to a policy contrary to your principles.

I am glad that you and Arnold Zander did not go to Chicago and I am very sorry that Pat Gorman had to pull the same stunt that Mayor LaGuardia pulled at the time of the Alter-Erlich protest meeting back in 1943. LaGuardia, unlike Willkie who cravenly caved in, did go to the meeting to protest the Alter-Erlich murder by Stalin, but he went out and made a speech a week later to a virtually open Communist meeting.

Pat stayed away from the meeting, but sent his assistant with a message, which was their meat. Confound his pictures!

With every best regard and good wish, I am

Fraternally yours,

Arthur G. McDowell

Arthur G. McDowell, Director
Dept. Civic, Educ. & Gov't. Affairs

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The Worker - 4/23/61, (Front Page)

Labor Leaders Open Drive for Peace

By SAM KUSHNER

CHICAGO — More than 275 union leaders, national and local, meeting here last weekend, opened a drive throughout the ranks of labor for peace, jobs and freedom.

From 12 states and Canada, more than 30 AFL-CIO international unions and 50 local unions came here to a conference for this purpose, sponsored by six top union leaders and the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers). The six leading unionists were A. Philip Randolph, president, Sleeping Car Porters; James B. Carey, president, International Union Electrical Workers; Frank Rosenblum, secretary treasurer, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Emil Mazey, secretary treasurer, United Auto Workers; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, and Arnold Zander, president, State County and Municipal Workers.

The conference unanimously called upon all labor organizations to set up staff positions and departments to deal with peace, including the industrial union department of the AFL-CIO and the international unions. It is planned to set up a speakers' bureau on peace, as well as to make educational material, films and tapes available.

A national coördinating committee, it was agreed, was to be set up. One question posed was the holding of regional labor peace conferences in the near future.

While Stewart Meacham, national head of the peace education committee of the AFSC and former official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, submitted these recommendations, delegate from the Machinists Union in Michigan interrupted him and asked:

"Is it understood that these proposals are within the context of a program for disarmament and a transition to a peace time economy?"

This was accepted by the committee and the deleates.

Other proposals approved in the panel discussions included the need for a thirty hour week at forty hours pay, exchange of union delegations between capitalist and socialist countries and the need for more independent political action by labor. While these proposals were not put before the conference as a whole, they had widespread support among the delegates.

The tone was set at the outset in the message from Patrick Gorman, by his assistant, Hilton Hann.

"We must either be for peace or complete destruction," said the message. "The latter gives suret of death; the former hope for life."

Gorman pledged that ":I shall remain an active member of the (peace) movement" He also called for a peacetime economy to help guarantee jobs.

Frank Rosenblum, the windup speaker, urged the delegates to help "create an awareness of the threat of nuclear warfare" and help "change the climate so that some things can be done" for peace. A "groundswell" for peace was needed, he said.

He warned that "the effects of McCarthyism" still inhibit the peace movement. He said letters had urged him not to appear at the conference, while some urged him to attend.

He said the John Birch Society and McClellan committee's at-

(Continued on page 9)

Labor Leaders

(Continued from page 1)

tack on labor were dangers to freedom of action.

Rosenblum spoke of the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union and called for disarmament to help "dissolve the cold war." He placed a major share of the blame for the cold war on the "military-industrial complex," and declared that the "incentive for the national security program has been profits."

"It is by our actions that we will be judged," he reminded the delegates.

The call for demonstrative action for peace was voiced by many including Harry Ross, a member of UAW President Walter Reuther's staff, who declared from the floor:

"Let us invite the Russian space man to America. Let us give him a great reception. He did a tremendous thing."

The unionists applauded.

Emil Mazey, UAW leader, brought out into the open the long smoldering criticism that many unionists have had of the foreign policy pronouncements of AFL-CIO president George Meany. On foreign policy, Mazey said, "unfortunately Meany has as his chief advisor Jay Lovestone."

Lovestone, a bitter anti-soviet cold warrior, who recently testified before the Senate Internal Security Committee, calling for an increase in cold war measures, has been regarded as the architect of AFL-CIO foreign policy.

Meany on foreign policy is as far to the right as the meeting downstairs, said Mazey.

That meeting was being held by the Independent American Forum, which boasted that two thirds of its guest speakers were members of the John Birch Society.

May 1, 1961

Mr. Arthur G. McDowell
Upholsterers' International Union of North America
1500 North Broad Street
Philadelphia 21, Pennsylvania

Dear Arthur:

This will acknowledge receipt of copy of your letter to Brother Jim Carey concerning the infiltration of communists in various movements.

May I say that I did not intend for my letter to indicate any variance of our views on the importance of being vigilant against the infiltration of communists in democratic efforts for workers and civil rights. You and I are fundamentally agreed on the menace of communists to movements in behalf of workers and civil rights although we may not always be in agreement on the point of emphasis. I want to congratulate you on the great work you have done in keeping labor alert to the aggression of communists against democratic institutions.

It has been a great pleasure and delight to know you and your fine family for over twenty years and to watch your consistent fight for basic democratic goals in America and in our labor movement.

With cordial good wishes.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

May 4, 1961

Mr. Arthur G. McDowell
Upholsterers' International Union
1500 North Broad Street
Philadelphia 21, Pa.

Dear Art:

Thanks a lot for your letter of April 26th with copy of The Worker with article on the labor leaders' meeting for peace in Chicago.

You are quite correct that while Brother Meany and myself have had some conflicts on methods of advancing civil rights in the AFL-CIO, it has nothing to do with the foreign policy of Brother Meany. On the problems of Africa Brother Meany and myself are together, although we are not always together on method but we agree on objective.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= FEB 15 1961 =

GEORGE MEANY= =PRESIDENT AFL-CIO=
AMERICANA HOTEL= MIAMI BEACH FLORIDA=

MAY I REQUEST YOU TO PLACE THE SUBJECT OF CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION DURING THE SESSIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

OCTOBER 16, 1961

MR. GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth St., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

THE ACTION OF AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE BOARD AND YOURSELF ATTACKING A PHILLIP RANDOLPH AND BRUSHING ASIDE HIS PROPOSALS FOR CORRECTING RACISM IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT IS SHOCKING. BY SUCH HYPOCRITICAL ACTIONS YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED TO THE WORLD SHALLOWNESS, BANKRUPTCY OF POLICY, LACK OF VISION AND REASON WHICH COULD ONLY RESULT IN HURTING THE CAUSE OF PROGRESS IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND CREATE DISUNITY IN OUR RANKS. YOU ARE URGED TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO REVERSE THIS ACTION AND TO SET UP A BOLD AND EFFECTIVE PROGRAM INCLUDING PROPOSALS OF BROTHER RANDOLPH AND THOSE OF US IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHO ARE WORKING NOT ONLY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACE BIAS BUT FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE BONDS OF UNITY AND BROTHERHOOD IN OUR RANKS THEREBY MAKING THE AFL-CIO A MORE EFFECTIVE FORCE FOR JUSTICE AND DEMOCRACY.

CLEVELAND ROBINSON, SECRETARY-TREASURER DISTRICT 65
VICE-PRESIDENT R.W.D.S.U.
NATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL.

13 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= FEB 21961=

MAIDA SPRINGER=
FREEDMANS HOSPITAL=
SIXTH &BRYANT STREETS N W = WASHINGTON D C =

DEAR MAIDA= REGRET SINCERELY TO LEARN OF YOUR ILLNESS= HOPE YMU RECOVER FORTHWITH= LET ME KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING YOU WISH ME TO DO= SINCERELY= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

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WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT
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JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE
PAUL L. PHILLIPS

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WM. L. McFETRIDGE
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LEE W. MINTON
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PETER T. SCHOEMANN

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WM. C. DOHERTY
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JOSEPH CURRAN
JOSEPH D. KEENAN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH A. BEIRNE
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WM. F. SCHNITZLER

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C. NATIONAL 8-3870

February 28, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Rm. 301, 217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Brother Randolph:

I am extremely happy that the Washington conference was so well attended and the discussions constructive and fruitful. I look forward to the next step in the work of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC).

Thank you for all of your thoughtfulness during my illness. It went far to encourage and reassure me during some of the depressing days in the hospital. I am now on the mend and come into the office two or three hours a day.

I want to draw your attention if Professor Trager has not already done so to a conference on African Resources which is to be held March 27-29 under the auspices of a project New York University and African Fair, Inc is sponsoring. Many business leaders and African leaders will be attending this conference and I believe properly the Trade Union movement should send representatives as we have been asked to observe and when necessary participate in these discussions on our further relations in Africa. The conference directors will be writing to you directly and I hope it will be possible to have an officer from the Brotherhood attend one of the several panels. I am enclosing a copy of the letter sent to me by the Assistant Director.

I close now with most sincere good wishes to you.

Fraternally yours,

Maida

Maida Springer, Representative
International Affairs Department

er

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

March 17, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301, 217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

Unfortunately I am going to have to cancel the appointment I requested for Friday, the 24th of March. There will be a meeting which I will have to attend on Friday morning in Washington. However, I very much need your advice on a number of questions in connection with the Conference on African Resources which will begin on Monday, the 27th of March. Would it be at all possible to give me a little time on Saturday at your home. I realize that this is an unusual request but believe that you consider this project significant enough to yield on this occasion.

I do hope you are feeling much better than when I last talked with you. Do let me hear from you as soon as possible.

Most sincerely,

Maida

Maida Springer, Representative
International Affairs Department

MS/er

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MAR 20 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

March 23, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street -- Room 301
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

Many thanks for your note. I will be in your office at 11 A.M. on Saturday morning. Thank you very much indeed.

Most sincerely,

Maida

Maida

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MAR 24 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

File — Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

April 28, 1961

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil;

Some of us have felt it would be very important to present to President Kennedy the letter which I am enclosing, not as coming from any organization, but from signers as individuals. I should be very happy if you would see fit to sign it.

I am enclosing with a copy of the letter a complete list of those whom we are asking to sign. The letter will also be released to the press.

Time is very important. I should therefore welcome a prompt reply, if possible by telegram or telephone.

Yours sincerely,
Norman Thomas
Norman Thomas

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426

STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Mr. President, this is not the time for bi-partisan silence or a moratorium on critical thought and debate over the crucial issues raised by the debacle in Cuba. Nothing would be more harful to our own true interests than to slide silently from the recent fiasco to the certain disaster that faces us if we launch an outright attack upon Cuba because "our patience is not inexhaustible."

In your speech immediately after the failure of the Cuban invasion, you talked of a need for re-examination of basic policies and institutions, of momentous choices. How is this to take place when public discussion and debate are smothered under a blanket of bi-partisanship?

It is in this spirit of the deepest concern for the fate of America at this critical point in our history that we write you.

First of all, let us say that we are opposed to any further military intervention in Cuba, direct or indirect. The recent invasion under the direction of the CIA was a catastrophe which severely damaged American prestige and set back the cause of world peace.

American intervention now could trigger World War III. It most certainly would lead to a sharpening of tensions in the world and will make disarmament negotiations even more difficult. It would jepordize your own program for Latin American relations. It can only serve the Communist cause.

Any transformation of the present Cuban regime must be the work of the Cuban people themselves. We are sympathetic to the true democrats and trade unionists in exile, to those who proved their devotion to freedom in the struggle against Batista and who seek a return to the original ideals of the Revolution. But we believe that their cause is compromised in the eyes of the Cuban people by association with American military power, and with former supporters of Batista's bloody dictatorship.

The most basic issue is not the misplanning and incompetence of the CIA. Even if its incredible blunders had not been made, an invasion directed by the United States would have unified the Cuban people behind the regime, for it would have appeared to them as one more case of North American imperialism. If these things were true before the invasion debacle, they are all the more compelling today. All the world now knows that the CIA initiated, organized and misdirected the invasion; all the world knows that the Cuban leaders themselves were held incommunicado at the decisive moment and that Americans were in command; all the world knows that the left wing of the anti-Castro opposition was excluded from participation in basic decisions. Given this background, any further intervention will be regarded as a naked, open and reactionary act of imperialism.

But beyond the immediate situation, the failure of the recent invasion is an instance of a much larger crisis. There are not guns enough and planes enough to keep Communism out of Latin America (or Africa, or the newly independent nations of Asia). The only real defense is an offensive for social justice and democracy supported by the United States. This is not the path we have taken in recent years. We have substituted a military policy of bombs, bases and alliances for the struggle for democracy; we have cynically enrolled dictators like Franco, Trujillo, Chiang, Somoza and Batista under the banner of "democracy."

We believe that the Cuban Revolution has turned upon its original democratic aims, that the Castro regime is becoming more anti-democratic and moving closer to the Communists. But we also believe that the United States must bear part of the responsibility for this tragic development.

When Castro overthrew Batista, America could have said: "It is to our shame that we so long supported the tyrant who oppressed the Cuban people. It is a fact of history that American power made Cuba a vast sugar plantation, distorting its economy and impoverishing its citizens. Because we understand this, we greet the Cuban Revolution and pledge ourselves to provide political and economic support so that its democratic aims may be realized."

Instead of this, we adopted a position of uneasy neutrality, as if a "hands off" policy was an act of political virtue. It is now reported that the then Vice President of the United States began to argue for intervention as early as April, 1959. In such a situation, Castro turned increasingly for trade and aid to Russia and the Communist bloc, and if this is regretable it is understandable. We do not believe that the Cuban revolutionists sought the police state which exists in Cuba today. We believe that they might have taken the road of democratic social construction if the United States had made that possible.

Indeed, we believe that Cuba is a typical case. Throughout the world, there is a mighty rising against the old power of colonialism, against reactionary dictatorships and oligarchies. The movements which lead in this transformation derive their power from the righteous indignation of the people against exploitation and oppression. Yet, when they achieve independence they are faced with the terrible problem of how to build a productive society when resources and industry are so under-developed.

The United States has a clear choice. It can join this Revolution, not as an outside power bent on intervention and the protection of old privileges, but as a nation dedicated to freedom.

For some time now, the rhetoric of dedication to self-determination and economic aid has been one of the standard political pieties of our society. But, in fact our funds have primarily gone to military and defense-support programs, and the recipients of the economic aid have been chosen on the basis of military priorities. The people of the world do not listen to our speeches. They watch how we act, and they have not always seen a foreign policy committed to democracy and peace but all too often the tactics of military planners.

If the United States does not join the Revolution of our time, it concedes it to the Communists. These new nations, these movements, are going to go ahead and create modern societies. If democracy will not give them the possibility of doing this in a humane and free way, they will turn to totalitarianism.

Mr. President, we believe that your Administration had begun to change, to make the right choice. We were heartened by your reconsideration of disarmament policy and by your pledge of increased aid to the people of Latin America. That is one of the reasons why we were so saddened and shocked when you all but wrecked your own program through the Cuban invasion. We cannot substitute the CIA for a political and economic struggle for democracy. The result will always be tragic, as it was in Cuba.

From the present debacle we must derive new wisdom for a better policy. Let this nation now declare that it will not launch or direct any military attack upon Cuba. Let us proclaim that we are joining the democratic revolution of our time, not simply in words, but in aid and political support. Let this nation declare that it will no longer rely upon dictators in the struggle against Communism, that it is convinced that the people of the world are the only possible ally for a nation dedicated to democracy. Only through such an approach can we hope for a victory of democracy over the totalitarianism of the right and the left.

* * * *

COMPLETE LIST OF PERSONS WHO ARE BEING ASKED TO SIGN THE STATEMENT TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

I.F. Stone
Theodore Draper
Erich Fromm
David Riesman
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Robert J. Alexander
Clarence Senior
Frances Grant
Murray Kempton
James Wechsler
Darlington Hoopes
Seymour M. Lipset
John Bennett
Reinhold Niehbuhr
Nathan Glazer
Norman Podhoretz
James Baldwin
Dan Wakefield
A. Philip Randolph
Rev. Martin Luther King
Robert M. Hutchins
Rt. Rev. James A. Pike
Rabbi I. Hoffman
Sidney Hook
Donald Harrington
Gore Vidal
James B. Carey
Walter Reuther
Emil Mazey
Patrick Gorman
Arnold Zander
O.A. Knight
Lewis Hollander
Harold Gibbons
Robert Delson
H. Stuart Hughes.
Mark Starr
Martin Gerber
Edmund Wilson
Robert Pickus
Norman Cousins
Wm. C. Davidon
Morris Rubin
Van Wyck Brooks
Roger Baldwin
Allan Knight Chalmers
Clarence Picket
Charles Porter
Jackie Robinson
Mark Van Doren
John Haynes Holmes
John P. Roche
Daniel Bell
Dwight MacDonald
Leroy Bowman
Louis Fischer
William Kemsley
George Meany
Victor Alba
Frank P. Zeidler
Herbert Lehman
James P. Patton
David C. Williams
Max Greenberg
John Gunther
Irving Howe
Seymour Melman
William Meyer
A.J. Muste
Lenore Marshall
Michael Harrington
Irwin Suall
Saul Bellow
David Spitz
Cong. James D. Roosevelt
Cong. Wm. F. Ryan
Cong. Henry Reuss
Cong. George Rhodes
Sen. Wayne Morse
Sen. Joseph Clark
H.L. Mitchell
Meyer Shapiro
Harvey Swados
Nat Hentoff
Jules Feiffer
Maury Maverick, Jr.
Wm. Gonzalez
Sen. Estes Kefauver
Cong. John Lindsay
Kenneth Boulding
Stuart Chase
E. Raymond Wilson
Sen. Clifford Case
Sen. Harrison Williams

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FZA064 SYB491 :

=SY AVY015 AVZ1 LONG BOOK AVZ1 DL PD AV NEW YORK NY 15 NFT =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
2588 SEVENTH AVE NYK =

MAY 16 MAYOR WAGNER ISSUING A PROCLAMATION HONORING CREATIVE =LEADERSHIP OF DR MARTIN LUTHER KING IN FURTHERING VOTER REGISTRATION DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN SOUTH. THIS OCCASION ALSO LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN IN THE CHURCHES CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS OF OUR CITY TO GIVE PRACTICAL SUPPORT TO THESE BASIC STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY INVITE YOU TO JOIN US AT CEREMONY TOMORROW TUESDAY WITH MAYOR 2 PM CITY HALL =

REGRET SHORT NOTICE UNAVOIDABLE DUE TO NECESSITY TO

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1961 MAY 16 AM 3 25

1201 (4-60)

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COORDINATE PARTICIPANTS =
REV GARDNER C TAYLOR/CLEVELAND ROBINSON =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Room 706
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

June 30, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We ask your careful attention to the enclosed memorandum which we wish to present to the Court before which Junius Scales' lawyers, Telford Taylor and McNiell Smith, will petition for reduction of sentence. The facts in the Scales' case are fully stated in the enclosed document. We want to get as many signers to it as possible and we are forced to urge a very prompt answer since the hearing before the Court may come early in July.

We believe our long, rather careful memorandum which has been prepared in consultation with counsel gives you all relevant material. We should, however, like to explain that if we get no favorable action from the Court we expect to carry the appeal to the President of the U. S. We should like your permission to use your signature in that appeal. The only change in the document would be an omission of certain parts of the preface which are relevant only to the Court.

In conclusion we should like to assure you that there is abundant documentary evidence that Mr. Scales left the Communist Party in good faith and for his own reasons in the year 1957. We enclose an envelope for reply.

Sincerely yours,

Grenville Clark   Robert F. Goheen   Reinhold Niebuhr   Norman Thomas

My three co-signators have authorized by telephone the use of their names.

Norman Thomas (d)

July 12, 1961

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

I have your letter concerning the Scales case and petition in behalf of same. I am very glad to sign the petition and am willing for you to use my name in the appeal, if necessary.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

Junius Scales)
)
v.)
)
United States)

In the District Court of the U.S.
Middle District of North Carolina

MEMORANDUM in Support of Petition for Reduction and Suspension of Sentence:

We, the undersigned, appearing pro se, file this memorandum in support of the petition for reduction of sentence and suspension thereof which we have been advised will be submitted to this honorable Court. We have been advised that Junius Scales has been sentenced to six years imprisonment for membership in the Communist Party under Section 7 of the Smith Act for having been a member of the Communist Party during 1946-54, down to the date of his indictment on November 18, 1954. The United States Supreme Court's opinion should not be interpreted as meaning that mere membership in the Communist Party was a sufficient ground for criminal prosecution. The majority opinion asserted, however, that the evidence in the Scales case, though it did not indicate in any way that he engaged in any illegal activity, established that he was an "active" member of the Communist Party during the period in question and had knowledge of the purported illegal intentions of the Party.

Regardless of our views on the basic merits of the opinion upholding the membership clause in the Smith Act, and regardless of any analysis of the Court's evaluation of the evidentiary presentation, we submit that this conviction is unique in American history and should not have resulted in the sentence imposed which we consider to be grossly excessive.

Mr. Justice Douglas has pointed out in his dissent the dangers of this decision to the First Amendment right of freedom of association in the United States. More importantly, however, he has pointed out, as did Mr. Justice Black, that it would be impossible for anyone, much less one untrained in the law, to anticipate the Court's interpretation of the membership clause. For these reasons and in view of the facts herein set forth we respectfully urge that the six-year sentence imposed upon Scales be substantially reduced and that the remaining sentence be suspended and that he be released upon parole.

Junius Scales left the Communist Party over four years ago in February 1957. His resignation did not constitute any attempt to get the government to end his prosecution. He was one of the many Communists who left the Party in revulsion against the revelations of Khrushchev at the Twentieth Party Congress and against the brutal Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

A number of others are now in the same position as Scales. They have been convicted in lower courts, and their sentences have been waiting upon disposition of the Scales case by the Supreme Court.

We believe that this is not the way to handle the problem of the ex-Communist. There is no point of view which can find solace in the fact that we have greeted with jail sentences men who have sincerely and honestly broken with communism.

We believe that the men were tragically wrong when they were active members of the Communist Party. Yet, we have every reason to respect their sincerity in breaking with the Party and we wish to welcome them to the democratic community, not to send them to jail.

(Signed) A Philip Randolph

on behalf and by authority of

July 5, 1961
(date)

TURN TOWARD PEACE
A Joint National Effort

Washington Office:
245 Second St. N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.

P. O. Box 401, Cooper Station
New York 3, N.Y.

West Coast Office:
1730 Grove St.
Berkeley 9, Calif.

December 20, 1961

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Philip:

I believe it is justified to say that Turn Toward Peace, following its official launching on December 5, is off to a good start despite the numerous problems which remain to be solved in an undertaking as ambitious as this. We now have a representative group of 27 peace, church, labor, veterans and public affairs organizations which have agreed to relate their work to TTP. Kits of literature are being distributed or prepared, action bulletins are going out, coordinators have been found in many communities across the country, and a healthy variety of activities has been undertaken by local groups.

We are counting on the contributions to the National Roster project to finance much of this work. In addition, the Cooperating Organizations have agreed to contribute about $100 apiece to TTP. A number have already made their contributions, and the others are expected to follow shortly.

We look forward to working closely with you in the weeks ahead as we try to build public support for turning the arms race into a peace race. We trust that your local groups have been informed of our effort. On January 18 we shall meet in New York to evaluate the performance of Turn Toward Peace and to determine its future course.

Cordially,

Norman Thomas/mr

Norman Thomas, Chairman

NT:mr

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, President

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1961 OCT 17 AM 8 21

==GPA002 SPC006 LA149 =L

LLT053 NL PD LOS ANGELES CAIF 16 =

=A PHILLIP RANDOLPH =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

=WE WISH TO HAIL AND SALUTE YOU FOR YOUR CORAGEOUS AND STEADFAST FIGHT FORFULL EMPLOYMENTOPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS IN THE FACE OF ODDS THAT WAS STACKED AGAINST YOU WE WANT =YOU TO KNOW THAT YOU ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS FIGHT WE STAND SQUARELY =WITH YOU GOD BLESS YOUAND KEEP YOU =

L B THOMPSON AND MAXINE. =

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

208 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
JAckson 5-1763

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

James R. Wood, *Public Relations Director*
Ralph D. Abernathy, *Treasurer*

March 1, 1961

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 25th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This is to officially alert your office of the next meeting of the National Sponsorship Committee to be held jointly with the Board of the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference. The date is March 10th at 12 noon, Diamond Hill Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Virginia. We regret that our numbers were so slim last week in Washington, but this was understandable in light of the bad weather and the airlines strike.

Two very definite things were decided last week: (1) We have agreed on the date for the Sit-In; and (2) the division of responsibility has been made for specific tasks. This notice is a part of my assigned responsibility. Another task of mine is to be sure that national heads and/or their agents understand clearly what 'national sponsorship' involves.

It is our thinking, as indicated in the memo enclosed, that the greatest impact can be made with concerted participation rather than by a single organization being totally responsible. Thus, this requires the consequent sharing of financial responsibility. Your office has received previously from Dr. Reid an outline of probable expense. Prorated against the number of organizations who could be involved and the monies to be raised locally (Virginia). Five hundred dollars ($500.00) per member of the National Sponsoring Committee seems reasonable. What we need at the moment is some response in this regard in order to move forward with deliberate speed.

We trust that you will keep this before you and will indicate on enclosed card who your official representative will be on the 10th at Petersburg.

Sincerely,

W. Tee Walker

Wyatt Tee Walker, Director

WTW:dc
Enclosure

cc: Dr. Milton Reid

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1961
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Wyatt:

Our representative will be: ___________________

____

__________________________________ on March 10th

at Lynchburg, Va.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE B-W 1962

March 15, 1962

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

May I again thank you for being one of the signers of the telegram that was sent out last Friday on the criminal anarchy charges against Charles McDew, Robert Zellner and Dion Diamond of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Ronny Moore of CORE.

Perhaps you have seen news accounts of the Monday arraignment. If not, this is what happened: the vagrancy charges against "Chuck" and Bob were dropped and trial was set for May 28 on the criminal anarchy issue. Dion is still in jail while lawyers are attempting to secure reduction of bond for him. According to the latest report a writ of habeas corpus is being filed in the state court today and we are hopeful that he will be out early next week. This is especially important since he has been in jail since February 1st and has been in solitary for nearly two weeks.

Last Friday while at Diamond's hearing for reduction of bail the state added a new count of breach of peace, and there was a motion for more time to prepare. This was granted, and Attorney Johnny Jones, his lawyer, was given until March 23 to file his motions with the court.

This gives us a little more time to try to generate additional protests and one of the things we had in mind was an open letter signed by as many outstanding persons as could be secured. We hope that you might consider being one of the initiators of this letter. The letter is in the process of being drafted and a copy will be sent to you without delay for your appraisal.

Enclosed is a copy of the news story that appeared in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution last Sunday. This account seems to me to focus on the real issue in the case; namely the question of whether one can be charged with criminal anarchy because his racial views are in conflict with the official position of the state. I need not enlarge upon the danger inherent in a decision favorable to the State of Louisiana and we would appreciate any suggestions that you might have of what can be done to have this case serve the larger interest of the total civil rights struggle.

Sincerely,

Ella

Ella J. Baker
239 West Lake Ave, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Ga.

EJB:fd
Encls.

P. S. Ronny Moore's case is being handled by CORE and I am not sure of its present status.

August 2, 1962

Miss Letitia Baldridge
Social Secretary
Executive Office of President
White House
600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Baldridge:

Permit me to express my great appreciation for the high honor accorded me in the form of an invitation from President Kennedy to have Luncheon with him, Wednesday, August 8, 1962.

May I say, I will be happy to be present.

Respectfully yours,

A. Philip Randolph

APR:mr

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am pleased to send you a copy of a new publication of the Labor Department, ''Growth of Labor Law in the United States.''

The book traces the development of major State labor legislation in this country, covering such fields as hours and wages, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, child labor, and industrial relations. Maps and tables provide a ready comparison, State by State, of the laws' provisions.

In a real sense, thousands of men and women have contributed to this history--the many whose combined efforts over the years have raised the American worker's standard of living and have given him greater protection on the job. It is my hope that you will find the book interesting and informative.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur J. Goldberg
Secretary of Labor

Enclosure

THE FOLLOWING 2 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

August 20, 1962

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am writing to bring to your personal attention a matter of great importance to your union, to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which I chair, and to the Nation: the elimination of discrimination by reason of race, creed, color or national origin in employment opportunities and the resulting full utilization of all of our manpower resources. The elimination of discrimination is crucial not only to our national interest but also to our international posture as a leader of the free world. The full utilization of our manpower resources is essential to the economic growth and development that is both the challenge and the promise of our country.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity through my efforts and through those of the Secretary of Labor, who is Vice Chairman, has been working closely with the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee in connection with our common goal of fair employment practices. It is my sincere conviction that this goal can come more closely within our grasp if your union and the other international unions of the AFL-CIO can join with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in a joint statement on a union program for fair practices.

I am attaching with this letter a proposed draft of such a joint statement. We have developed this draft with the purpose and hope that it will be acceptable to the various international unions. It is, of course, acceptable to the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the President's Committee.

On behalf of the President as well as the Committee, I invite you to join with us in an effort to promote equal employment opportunities by adopting such a joint statement. It is our plan to have a signing ceremony in the White House, where the participating unions and I would sign these joint statements and meet with President Kennedy. The President's presence at this signing, which shall take place in October, is but a small evidence of his great personal interest in this most important undertaking.

I would appreciate it if you would address whatever questions you may have with respect to this joint statement to the Secretary of Labor.

Yours sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
AUG 24 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 3, 1962

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
The Vice President of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I wish to acknowledge your letter of August 20, with copy of Joint Statement on Union Program for Fair Practices.

I note your plan to have the statement initialed by representatives of the national and international unions at a ceremony in the White House, at which time the President of the United States will be present.

May I say that I consider this a splendid and constructive program, and let me assure you that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will be glad to participate. I shall have the statement adopted by our International Executive Board and I will be happy to participate in the ceremony scheduled to take place some time in October.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

STUDENT COUNCIL OFFICE
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

December 8, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for sending me the check from The Progressive and for your kind words about the article.

Coincidentally, your letter came in the mail with a copy of the magazine's December issue, which I found very impressive. I think the interest stirred by the issue underscores the need for some kind of vehicle to encourage ongoing dialogues among scholars, journalists, artists, and organizational leaders seriously concerned with Civil Rights, race relations, and related fields. From personal experience I know that many of the young people involved in the struggle are earnestly seeking intellectual and philosophical and historical foundations for their profound moral commitment. And at present their only recourse is to a welter of newsletters, bulletins, and articles scattered in the liberal publications. Perhaps we may look forward to a time when the best thinking in the movement will be collected between the covers of a publication that appears more frequently than centennially.

I very much appreciated the opportunity to do the article and look forward to seeing you during the holidays.

Best wishes,

Tom

Tom Kahn

TK/ts

RECEIVED
C 14 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 26, 1962

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President wishes me to thank you for your telegram about action to achieve equal opportunity in housing. He appreciates receiving your views on this vital subject.

This Administration intends to take every necessary and proper step to secure the full constitutional rights of all Americans. Enclosed you will find a partial list of steps recently taken. There is, of course, a long way still to go.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Harris L. Wofford
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125 Street
New York 28, New York

Enclosure

SUMMARY OF CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS
FOR THE NINE MONTHS -- JANUARY 20 THROUGH OCTOBER 1961

1. To end job discrimination in both the federal service and in employment on government contracts, the President issued Executive Order 10925 on March 6, 1961. This established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity with far greater power of enforcement than held by any predecessor agencies.

* Under the leadership of Vice President Johnson, the Chairman, and Secretary Goldberg, Vice-Chairman, the Committee has secured the agreement of about half of the fifty largest government contractors to undertake specific "plans for progress" involving recruitment, training, hiring and upgrading of Negro employees. By the first of the year the Committee hopes to have the agreement of all fifty of the largest contractors. The order requires all contractors to take such "affirmative action."

* The Labor Department has revised the procedures of the Public Employment Service so that local employment service offices are now prohibited from accepting discriminatory job orders.

* The Civil Service Commission, the Departments of State, Treasury, and Commerce, the Peace Corps, and several other agencies have actively undertaken extensive programs to recruit qualified Negroes for federal service in the U.S. and overseas.

* Regional conferences of personnel officials have been held in Atlanta, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis and Nashville to see that employment breakthroughs occur for qualified Negroes in all regions, in all departments and agencies, and at all levels.

* More than fifty outstanding Negroes have already been appointed to policy-making jobs in a number of Departments and agencies most of them to jobs never held by Negroes before. These include the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Robert Weaver; Judge Thurgood Marshall of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals; and the U.S. Ambassador to Norway, Clifton Wharton.

2. To protect the right to vote the Justice Department has already filed 12 voting suits, including four in Mississippi -- the first such suits ever brought by the Government in that state. In the previous three years under the 1957 Act only 6 suits had been brought. The Justice Department has voting investigations underway in 60 other counties. This means that of the some 100 counties where voting discrimination has been found by the Civil Rights Commission to be most serious, some action by the Government has begun in 78 counties.

* The Justice Department has further made it clear that it will support in every appropriate way efforts of Negroes to exercise their fundamental constitutional right to register and vote.

* When a Negro student leader, organizing a registration drive, was beaten and then arrested by local officials and prosecuted in state court, the Justice Department promptly went into federal court to enjoin such state intimidation and prosecution. The decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals to uphold this action by the Justice Department means that the federal government can give far more effective protection to those conducting registration efforts.

* When Negroes who sought to register and vote in Haywood and Fayette counties were evicted from their tenant farms, the Justice Department secured an injunction against such economic intimidation. When these Negroes still suffered economically and many were found to lack adequate food, the President directed the Department of Agriculture to make surplus food available in these counties.

3. To protect the right to travel without discrimination the Justice Department has acted on many fronts, with the result that within a year it is likely that segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate bus, rial and air travel will be ended everywhere in the country.

* When the lives of the "Freedom Riders" were endangered, Federal marshals were sent to Montgomery, Alabama, to restore order and protect the right to travel of all persons traveling in interstate commerce.

* The Justice Department obtained an indictment and has brought to trial nine men charged with burning an interstate bus in Anniston, Alabama.

* The Department secured a Federal court injunction prohibiting any interference with the "Freedom Riders" test of bus station desegregation.

* The Interstate Commerce Commission was persuaded, on petition of the Attorney General, to adopt far-reaching regulations prohibiting segregation in interstate bus travel or bus terminals.

* When Mississippi officials acted to enforce state segregation laws in conflict with the ICC regulations, the Justice Department promptly went into Federal court to strike down such state laws and to prohibit interference with the desegregation ordered by the ICC.

* After investigation of continuing discrimination in railroad stations, the Justice Department conducted successful negotiations with railroad companies to end all such practices. All 18 railroads operating in the South have now agreed to enforce the rule of nondiscrimination.

* Court suits have been brought by the Department in Louisiana and Alabama to require the end of segregation in airport terminals. Voluntary desegregation was secured by the Department in Columbus, Georgia and in Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina.

4. To implement the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision the Administration has taken significant new legal steps and given affirmative moral and political leadership.

- * On four occasions the President has issued public appeals for compliance with the Court's decision and has praised the constructive accomplishments of communities which have complied.

- * Administration officials have worked quietly but actively with state and local leaders to help bring about the successful integration of schools this fall, particularly in Atlanta, Dallas, New Orleans and Memphis.

- * The Justice Department took all necessary steps including court action, to see that teachers in the desegregated schools of New Orleans were paid their salaries.

- * In Louisiana, for the first time, the Department of Justice entered a school desegregation suit not just to assist the court in restoring law and order, but to bring about desegregation.

- * The Department has initiated court action to require the reopening of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

5. To strengthen the Civil Rights Commission the President nominated and the Senate confirmed two new members of the Commission and an effective new staff director who are known for their championship of civil rights: Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard Law School and Dean Spottswood Robinson of Howard Law School, and Staff Director Berl Bernhard. With the extension of the Commission's life for another two years, its role can be expected to increase in importance. The series of major reports and recommendations submitted to the President and Congress in the last six weeks is an indication of its increasing vigor.

6. To achieve consistent and effective civil rights policies throughout the federal government the President has set up a Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights, at the Assistant-Secretary level. This group meets monthly to coordinate federal programs respecting civil rights. A Special Assistant to the President works regularly on this in close cooperation with the three main civil rights agencies: The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and the Civil Rights Commission.

SRF LH 73 PD

BUFFALO, N.Y.

SRF APR 11 62

178

SOCIAL SECY
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC

I HOPE YOU HAVE RECEIVED MY LETTER EXPRESSING HIGH APPRECIATION FOR THE GREAT HONOR EXTENDED TO ME AND MY DEAR LITTLE WIFE TO SHARE IN THE FINE FELLOWSHIP SPIRIT OF DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS EVENING . I FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR MY WIFE AND MYSELF TO COME BECAUSE SHE IS CONFINED IN BED AT HOME BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW HOW GREATLY WE ARE APPRECIATIVE AND GRATEFUL FOR THIS FINE INVITATION

A PHILLIP RANDOLPH

115P

4.78

ROOM 836 STATLER
F-R RB

4.78 48 TAX
VOU 0 3646
?????????????? ???

2170 125 ST
NYK

Guest checked out at 1:45

TUBE
APR 11 PM 2 47
APR 11 PM 2 47

Credit Card

Address 217. W. 125th
St.
~~New~~ New York
City

7 TELEGRAPH—CHARGE VOUCHER

O 3646

NAME A PHILLIP RANDOLPH ROOM 836 DATE APR 11

TGM TO WASHDC	4	78
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O. K. BY 114P
ASSISTANT MANAGER

COLLECTED BY
SIGNATURE
GUEST'S SIGNATURE

R35-7 F172

7 TELEGRAPH—CHARGE VOUCHER

O 3646

NAME A PHILLIP RANDOLPH ROOM 836 DATE APR 11

TGM TO WASH C	4	78
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O. K. BY 114P
ASSISTANT MANAGER

COLLECTED BY
SIGNATURE
GUEST'S SIGNATURE

R35-7 F172

May 4, 1962

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

First of all, permit me, on behalf of the members of the Negro American Labor Council, to express appreciation for your manifest highly sensitive concern about the serious problem of unemployment in general, and chronic joblessness in particular. Thus, we feel that despite your many, grave, heavy burdens of state, we have good reason to expect that this letter, the purpose of which is to request a conference concerning the increasingly worsening problems of the black laboring masses in our country, will enlist your interest and attention.

Permit me to suggest that we are cognizant of the fact that you are accurately and consistently briefed with the statistical status of the problem of unemployment throughout the nation as a whole, and with respect to minority workers in particular. However, the purpose of this letter is to urge that you permit us to add another dimension of knowledgeability to your fund of information, namely, a human documentation in the form of a brief conference of Negro trade unionists and workers who wish to tell you their story, not only from the basis of information but also in terms of feeling, anxiety and human agony. We believe that our story will have a meaningful orientation for you on this question.

It shall be our purpose to have a conference of Negro trade unionists and workers with you that will reflect their experience in varied and various crafts and industries and a broad spectrum of the black laboring masses of our nation. Of course, I need not tell you that this problem of Negro joblessness is diversified as follows:

(1) Rate of unemployment of Negro workers is recognized by the Department of Labor to constitute twice the rate of the national rate of unemployment and, in some areas, even higher than this.

(2) While there is a hard core of unemployment in the nation as a whole, there is a hard core of unemployment among Negro workers which tends to increase instead of diminish.

(3) Because of advancing technology it is reckoned that around two million jobs, more or less, of unskilled workers are being liquidated annually. It is well known that workers of color are disproportionately concentrated in this category of production.

It is a matter of common knowledge that unemployment and underemployment hover over every Negro community like a specter of economic gloom and doom, giving rise to a sense of frustration, if not desperation, among adult and youth that can and may explode in racial eruptions that endanger socio-ethnic peace and order.

Hence, the masses of Negro workmen, who represent ten percent of the nation's workforce, have a sharpening and deepening hunger for hope for the utilization of their manpower, not only for a better life and living but also to help advance our national economic growth and make and keep our country strong, free and secure.

I am confident that the proposed conference of Negro trade unionists with you at an early date will tend to give the black laborers, employed and unemployed, a new,fresh sense of hope to move ahead on the job rights front.

Thus, if you may feel disposed to grant the conference requested, I shall be glad to supply you with the names of workers I would wish to be permitted to include as participants in the conference.

May I expect a reply at your convenience.

Respectfully,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

JULY 30 1962 BOOK OF FIVR 5

==RFR1 - THE HONORABLE JOHN F KENNEDY
PRESIDENT UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON 25D C

RFR2- THE HONORABLE ROBERT F KENNEDY
ATTORNEY GENERAL OF UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE WASHINGTON,D C
3 - THE HON. VANDIVER
GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA
ATLANTA, GA.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Class of Service
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, President

1201 (4-60)

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BOOK OF FIVE=

RFR 4- CHIEF OF POLICE
LAURIE PRITCHETT ALBANY,GEORGIA
RFR 5- WYATT T WALKER=
=332-34 AUBURN AVENUE N.E.
ATLANTA,GEORGIA

==IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, I URGE AND REQUEST THAT YOU INSIST THAT THE FIRST ==AMENDMENT PRIVILEGES BE RESPECTED BY THE STATE AND LOCAL OFFICALS IN ALBANY,GEORGIA. I ALSO URGE THAT THE

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES OF DOCTORS MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND RALPH D. ABERNATHY AND THE TWO HUNDRED OTHER CITIZENS WHO HAVE PEACEFULLY PROTESTED SEGREGATION IN ALBANY, GEORGIA BE SAFE GUARDED FROM PERSECUTION BY RACIST.

CONDITIONS IN ALBANY, GEORGIA CONSTITUTE A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AND DAMAGES OUR IMAGE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD

SIGNED A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=

For Mrs. Lucie Lee Randolph

with every good wish

LUNCHEON

Creamed soup Sénégalaise

Roast sirloin of beef Vert Pré
Roast potatoes
Green beans
Braised endives

Almaden
Rosé

Lemon sherbet
Pineapple and raspberry sauce
Petits-fours sec

Demi-tasse

The White House
Wednesday, August 8, 1962

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT
1201 (4-60)
SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= OCT 1 1962=

HON JOHN F KENNEDY=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON D C =

THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL EXTEND HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR GREAT STATESMANSHIP IN HANDLING THE CONTROVERSY INVOLVING GOVERNOR BARNETT OF MISSISSIPPI AND THE ADMISSION OF JAMES MEREDITH TO THE UNIVERSITY OF THAT STATE=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH= INTL PRESIDENT
=BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=
NATIONAL PRESIDENT, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL=

October 11, 1962

The Social Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:

Let me express my great appreciation for the honor extended to me and Mrs. Randolph to share in the ceremonies attendant upon the occasion of the visit of Their Royal Highnesses, The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg and The Prince of Luxembourg, Tuesday evening, October 30.

I assure you that I keenly regret that it is not possible for me to accept the invitation because of the indisposition of my wife who is confined to her room and unable to get around.

I am disinclined to attend an affair of this high social significance and dignity without Mrs. Randolph, with whom I have recently enjoyed the celebration of a half century of marriage.

May I also assure you that she is deeply appreciative of this cordial invitation from The President and Mrs. Kennedy.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RFR 55= PD NEGRO AMER LABOR COUNCIL= OCTOBER 23 1962=
HON JOHN F KENNEDY=
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STAES=
THE WHITE HOUSE= WASHINGTON D C =

IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL I WANT TO COMMEND, HAIL AND SALUTE YOU UPON THE GREAT STATESMANSHIP YOU SHOWED IN YOUR ILLUMINATING,. TIMELY AND FORTHRIGHT ADDRESS ON TELEVISION LAST NIGHT= = IT WILL GIVE NEW HEART. FAITH AND DETERMINATION ON THE PART OF ALL AMERICANS TO STAND FIRMLY BACK OF YOU AND YOUR LEADERSHIP IN THIS HOUR OF CRISIS= A PHILIP RANDOLPH= PRESIDENT=
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL=
217 W 125 STREET NYK=

NCERNING ITS SERVICE

The President and Mrs. Kennedy
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. and Mrs. Randolph
at dinner
on Tuesday, October 30, 1962
at eight o'clock

On the occasion of the visit of
Their Royal Highnesses
The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg
and
The Prince of Luxembourg

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

TR

Mr. and Mrs. A. Philip Randolph
will please present this card at
THE SOUTHWEST GATE
The White House
October 30, 1962
at 8 *o'clock*
NOT TRANSFERABLE

Black Tie

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1962

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I hope you will be able to join me and the Vice President at the White House on November 15, at 11:00 A.M. Representatives of all the affiliates of the AFL-CIO are being invited at that time to join in a statement pledging each union to eliminate racial discrimination within its jurisdiction.

It is our earnest hope that you will be able to be present and I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

John Kennedy

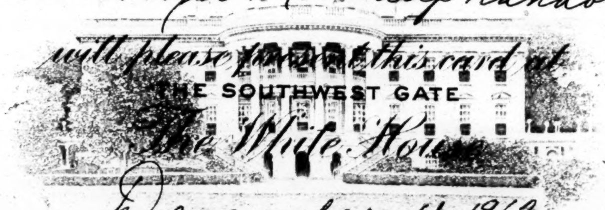
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

The President
requests the pleasure of the company of
Mr. and Mrs. Randolph
at luncheon
on Tuesday, December 11, 1962
at one o'clock

On the occasion of the visit
of
His Excellency
The President of Chile

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

EH



Mr. and Mrs. A. Philip Randolph
will please present this card at
THE SOUTHWEST GATE
The White House
December 11, 1962
at one o'clock
NOT TRANSFERABLE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

17962

SYMBOLS

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NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

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PRESIDENT JOHN F KENNEDY =
WHITE HOUSE =
WASHINGTON DC =

IN THE NAME OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL I WISH TO EXTEND CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU ON YOUR TIMELY FORTHRIGHT AND CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT ON RACIAL TENSION IN ALBANY, GEORGIA. =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

LT

1962 JUN 20 PM 6 56

NEW YORK

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

We vigorously protest the indictment of William Worthy for re-entering his native land "without bearing a valid passport."

Besides the transparent unconstitutionality of the 1952 McCarran Act provision on which the indictment is based, this harassment of a Negro newsman has already subjected the United States government and people to widespread ridicule at home and abroad. On May 11, for example, a columnist in the Ghana Evening News scathingly and satirically denounced the prosecution.

We also object to the official discrimination against Mr. Worthy. White citizens who have come home without passports have never been prosecuted.

We note you will address the annual conference of the Negro Newspapers Publishers Association on Friday evening, June 22, in Baltimore. Mr. Worthy has been invited to address the same audience the following morning. When you speak, pickets drawn from all walks of American life will demonstrate in opposition to the violation of civil liberties in this prosecution.

We urge you before Friday to acknowledge the grievous mistake made by the Justice Department and to announce the indictment will be quashed.

COPY

James Farmer James Forman Percy E. Sutton

A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters,
217 West 125th Street, New York

A. Philip Randolph -- telephone: MOnument 2-5080

June 20, 1962

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone 524-1378

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

June 28, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We are preparing for the final printing of the Second Emancipation Petition. Enclosed you will find the names of those persons who agreed to serve with you as initiators. This number has purposely been kept to a limited number on the basis of our past experience. We do propose to gather a distinguished list of petition "endorsers" whose names will be published in the early fall with the names of the initiators of the petition. This will afford a great impetus as we spread the petition in churches, labor unions and college campuses. We need your suggestions in order to secure a good cross-section of American life.

Our main purpose for this letter is to thank you formally for allowing us the use of your name in carrying out this noble project. We feel that there is still a great deal that the President could do to make civil rights a reality for all people. Your name and influence will aid us immeasurably in creating the kind of moral pressure that may cause the President to sign such a meaningful Executive Order.

Finally, you will be glad to know that we have arranged for the printing of the 115 page document presented to Mr. Kennedy on May 17th. We will forward your personal copy within thirty days.

Please indicate on the suggestion sheet how you prefer to be identified. Thank you very kindly.

Very truly yours,

Martin L King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr., President

W. Tee Walker

Wyatt Tee Walker, Director

RECEIVED
JUL 5 - 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MLK:WTW/es

Enc:

I recommend the following people to be contacted as endorsers of the petition:

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

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NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

NAME ADDRESS CITY & STATE

September 14, 1962

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.
563 Johnson Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 12, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

Just a word to advise that plans are underway by the AFL-CIO to get Negro leaders to make tape recordings urging Negroes to register and vote.

I have been requested to ask you to make such a recording.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

[illegible] Worthy Case

August 21, 1962

Mr. Robert E. Lillard
President
National Bar Association

Dear Mr. Lillard:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of a petition that, before William Worthy's August 8th trial in Miami, fifteen lawyers, judges and law professors sent to Attorney General Kennedy asking him, on grounds of unconstitutionality, to nolle prosse the indictment. Among the signers was Judge J. Waties Waring.

I note that between August 29 and September 1 the National Bar Association will meet in convention in Indianapolis. Would it be possible for an invitation to be extended to Mr. Worthy to make a brief presentation of the issues, in the hope that the Association would see fit to pass an appropriate resolution?

All of us who are actively participating in Mr. Worthy's behalf know that a statement from the National Bar Association, duly distributed to the appropriate authorities and to the press, would carry great weight in places that count.

I am in regular daily touch with Mr. Worthy. But if more direct and more convenient for you, you may contact him at

apartment 2
210 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York
SPring 7-6346

(over the weekend at BEverly 5-2326).

May I thank you for whatever interest and cooperation the Association manifests.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

apr/bw

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

GPA059 PE164 = =WMR022

WD019 #(WMR) PD WASHINGTON DC 26 NFT =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, VICE PRESIDENT AFL-CIO =
217 WEST 125 ST ROOM 301 NYK =

REQUEST AUTHORITY EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TO DONATE $25.000.00 FROM SPECIAL PURPOSES FUND TO HELP OFFICIALS HANDLING RELEASE CUBAN PRISONERS OF WAR TO MEET LAST MINUTE DEMANDS MADE ON DECEMBER 24TH BY FIDEL CASTRO FOR 3 MILLION ADDITIONAL FUNDS IN CASH =

GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT. :

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

RFR 2 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= DEC 26 1962=

GEORGE MEANY

PRESIDENT=AFL-CIO
= 815 SIXTEENTH STREET N W = WASHINGTON D C =

REURTEL TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CONCERNING $25,000 DONATION TO HELP IN RELEASE OF CUBAN PRISONERS OF WAR, I AM IN ACCORD WITH YOUR REQUEST= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

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ROBERT C. WEAVER
MARTIN WELDON
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
JOHN H. WHEELER
ROY WILKINS
FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS
CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

April 17, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York, New York

Dear Phil:

I know you will be as delighted as I am to learn that a book is coming out, at last, about MCD's work. It is called "But Not Next Door" written by Harry and David Rosen and published by Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 341 East 62nd St., New York 21, New York. It tells the story of Deerfield, the all-white suburb of Chicago, where our model houses and two sites for fifty-one houses were condemned for public parks to keep Negroes out.

The book is a short, well-written account of this exciting battle for the right to build integrated housing. Most encouraging is the story of how 200 white citizens of this all-white town risk friendship and jobs fighting for the right of Negroes to live in their town.

The publishers sent you a review copy of this inspiring book. I wonder if you would take a little time to read it-it is very short-and send the enclosed letter to Drew Pearson, 1313-29th St., N.W., Washington 7, D. C., with a carbon to me.

Your help would be extremely valuable. With warmest regards, I am

Cordially,

Morris Milgram
Morris Milgram

[illegible]

RECEIVED
APR 1 1962
OFFICE OF

LAW OFFICES
KEESLER H. MONTGOMERY
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW
18 TREMONT STREET
BOSTON 8. MASSACHUSETTS

CAPITOL 7-0754

GARRISON 7-5824

July 31, 1962

Hon. A. Phillip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I had a talk with Mr. William Worthy last evening concerning the matter of the indictment that presently hangs over him in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Florida. I think this is a most regretable situation, and one that is without precedent as far as I have been able to ascertain.

I wish to add my voice in joining you in protesting a situation where an American citizen is not permitted to enter his own country without being indicted for an unlawful entry. This appears to me to be a contridiction in our system of justice.

Very truly yours,

Keesler H. Montgomery

Keesler H. Montgomery

KHM:w

AMERICAN NEGRO
EMANCIPATION CENTENNIAL AUTHORITY
DR. J. H. JACKSON, PRESIDENT
4339 SOUTH DREXEL BLVD.
CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS
DREXEL 3-7600

JAMES E. STAMPS
CHAIRMAN
BOARD OF TRUSTEES
IRENE McCOY GAINES
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GENERAL COUNSEL
COL. JACK REILLY
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BENDLEY C. CYRUS
SECRETARY
GEN'L RICHARD L. JONES
TREASURER
ALTON A. DAVIS
FOUNDER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1962

Dear Randolph:

Within the next two weeks I expect to be in New York, at which time I shall phone you, and come in to see you at a time which is mutually agreeable.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Chandler

Chandler Owen

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York City, New York

April 25, 1962

Mr. Drew Pearson
1313 - 29th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

I do hope you will take the time to read an exciting book that has just come out - publication date April 27 - "But Not Next Door," written by Harry and David Rosen and published by Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 341 East 62nd Street, New York City.

This is a very moving story of two hundred white citizens of Deerfield, suburb of Chicago, who fought for the right of Modern Community Developers to build two integrated developments there. It is good news for people around the country to know that there are white people who fight for the rights of Negroes to live in their towns.

It is also important that we recognize bigotry in the North as a major problem. Until we open up the suburbs of major cities we are not going to be able to end segregation in education, churches and other areas. I am happy to report that civil rights attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., chief counsel in the case, is appealing the condemnation of MCD's two Deerfield sites through the Illinois Supreme Court, and if necessary up to the U. S. Supreme Court.

The shocking denial of the right to build homes for people must be fought. Anything you can do to let the readers of your excellent column know about this book will help win the battle.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

[apr. 1962]

Mr. Drew Pearson
1313-29th St.,N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pearson:

I do hope you will take the time to read an exciting book that has just come out -publication date April 27th, - "But Not Next Door," written by Harry and David Rosen and published by Ivan Obolensky, Inc., 341 East 62nd St., New York 21, New York.

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The shocking denial of the right to build homes for people must be fought. Anything you can do to let the readers of your excellent column know about this book will help win the battle.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

Phil: This morning, Vera Rony asked me to get your permission to add (in the 4th paragraph) her suggested mention of the WDL. That phrase was not in the draft that I read to you on the phone last night. Bill

July , 1962

Mr.
street
city

Dear :

On August 7th, in the racially and politically hostile atmosphere of Miami, William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, goes on trial on the unprecedented charge of returning home to his native land "without bearing a valid passport."

Because of vehement Justice Department opposition to a change of venue, Mr. Worthy's volunteer attorneys lost on a motion to have the trial transferred to New York or Washington.

This vindictive and discriminatory prosecution, under the 1952 McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, represents a threat to all of us and to the principles of liberty that we hold dear. In singling out Mr. Worthy and no one else for prosecution, the federal government is affronting the entire Negro community. If successful in obtaining a conviction, the Justice Department will have gravely encroached upon freedom of the press and the consitutional right to travel.

Because of the seriousness of this case and because of my role as vice-president of the Workers Defense League which has undertaken Mr. Worthy's defense, I am inviting Negro leaders to meet with me at my office on Tuesday afternoon, July 31, at 2:00 P.M. Mr. Worthy will give us a report on the facts and background of the case, and then we will move on to appropriate action.

Will you let me know if you can join us? I hope very much that you will be present.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

apr/pl

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
VICE PRESIDENT AFL-CIO

August 13, 1962

Dear Friend:

As you probably know, Bill Worthy was found guilty in Miami last Wednesday. Sentence has been postponed pending a review of his probationary report by the Federal judge.

The constitutional issues in his case were not discussed or brought up in his trial . He will appeal the case so as to get a ruling in the vital civil liberties issues involved.

Owing to the urgency of the case I am asking you to attend a meeting in my office on Thursday, August 16, 2:00 p.m., for the purpose of deciding the next steps to be taken.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
w.

Bill Worthy
Case

August 21, 1962

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Hobson Reynolds
2044 Ridge Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Hobson:

From stories in the Negro press and from material sent to you over the past weeks I believe you know the essential particulars of the William Worthy case.

I note that the Elks are meeting in convention in Chicago next week. Would it be possible for an invitation to be extended to Bill Worthy to fly out around Tuesday or Wednesday, August 28 or 29, and address the convention for, say, 15 to 30 minutes?

It would be very helpful if the Elks were to pass a resolution calling for the complete vindication of Bill Worthy and letting the Administration know that the Negro community is aroused about the apparent persecution of a Negro newsman.

Financially, because this case is going to take large sums to fight to a successful conclusion, I would hope that the Elks would see their way clear to making a substantial contribution. In addition, could Bill Worthy's roundtrip plane fare and hotel expenses be covered by the convention?

I will be in regular daily touch with Bill. But if more direct and more convenient for you, you may contact him at

apartment 2 - 210 E. 19th St., New York 3, N.Y. SPring 7-6346
(over the weekend at BEverly 5-2326).

My personal regards to you and your wife.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

apr/bw

KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

(Affiliated to International Confederation of Free Trade Union)

All correspondences to be addressed to
the General Secretary

President: P. MUINDE
General Secretary: TOM J. MBOYA
Treasurer: JAMES KAREBE
Deputy General Secretary: C. K. LUBEMBE

Telephone: 21838 & 21952
Cable: "Intconfed" Nairobi.

Solidarity Building
Digo Road
P. O. Box 13026
NAIROBI, Kenya.

Our Ref..........................

Your Ref.........................

DATE 8th March,1962.

Mr. A.Philip Randolph,
Pres. Brotherhood Sleeping CAR-PORTERS,
217 West 125 Street,
New York City.

Dear Brother Randolph,

I have been away from home nearly four months now and just on the eve of my return home on unexpected incident brought together a group of us who have been associated with you in many crusades against economic, social and political injustice. That trinity of evils which men continue to try to justify to maintain unearned and unjust privileges.

Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland and the Reverend Michael Scott are in Tanganyika working with " The Pan African Movement of East and Central Africa" to organize a protest march to Northern Rhodesia.

Bayard has asked me to tell you that they are still "Marching". Enclosed is a release of the first press conference.

As you may have heard I have been seriously ill which delayed my return home. Now after two long sessions in hospitals in Tanganyika and Nairobi, ending with surgery, I am doing well and will be returning home next week.

I heard the Civil Rights section of the convention went well and that the N.A.L.C. and A.F.L.-C.I.O. have made definite moves to remove hostility and suspicion and get on with the job of employment opportunities for all of us. I hope you have been well and look forward to seeing you soon.

Most sincerely,

MAIDA.

Encl:

P:S. Brother Clement Lubembe, Deputy General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour will be visiting the United States for six to 8 weeks on a Government Leader Grant.

You have read of his good work during the Casablanca and Dakar Conferences. His intinerary, will of course, include as visit with you.

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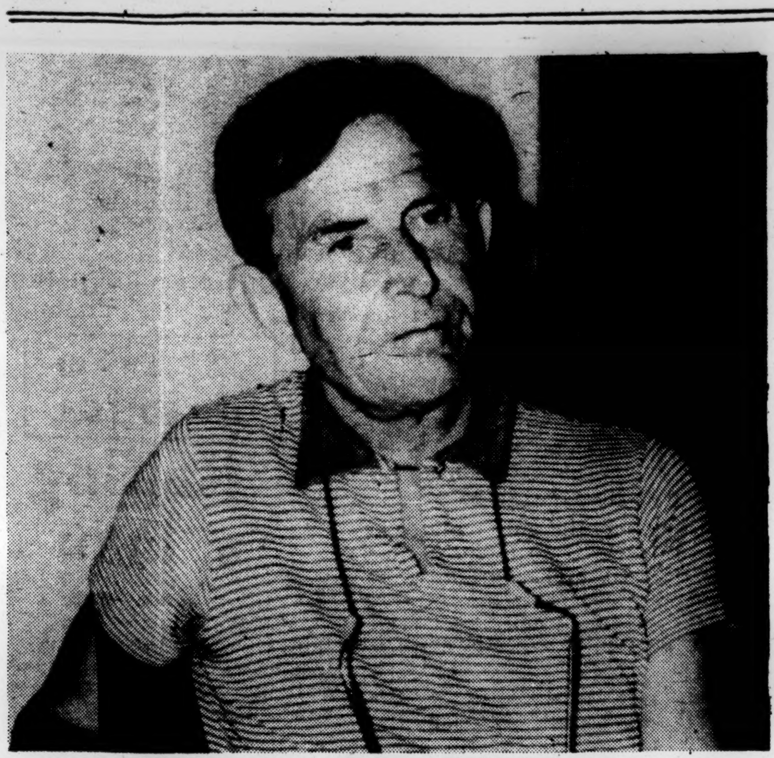
united brotherhood of workers by hand and by brain all over Kenya



● The Rev. Michael Scott in Dar.

Dar—the invasion springboard

From
DAVID PRICE
in Dar es Salaam

"I AM moderate but I am also like the Rock of Gibraltar."

The words were spoken by the Rhodesian Federal Premier Sir Roy Welensky, just over a week ago.

But in Dar es Salaam at the moment there is an ever-growing group of people whose aim it is to shake that Rock of Gibraltar and possibly overthrow it completely.

Here in the capital city of independent Tanganyika, living in the former residence of the present Prime Minister, Rashidi Kawawa, leading members of the World Peace Brigade are organising a protest march across the border into Northern Rhodesia to draw attention to Britain's policy and to help the fight for freedom.

Led by Kenneth Kaunda, Mr. Scott and two American colleagues in the non-violent resistance movement — Bayard Rustin and Bill Sutherland — have been in Dar es Salaam for some weeks preparing the way for the marchers.

Now, with the full support of Tanu and Pafmeca, as well as the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, they have come out into the open and issued statements about the proposed march.

Last week the Reverend Michael Scott called a half-hour Press session.

Britain's "ban the bomb" preacher was completely overshadowed by American Bayard Rustin, who answered most of the questions and generally took control of the assembly.

"We will start to march when Mr. Kaunda gives us the call and when he thinks it is proper.

"We are prepared to face arrest, imprisonment or being shot at," said the American, one of the leaders of the sit-in-movement in the Southern States of America.

Mr. Scott was more guarded in his statement. He would not reveal the date of starting but added that "thousands" would join.

Stressed

He stressed that the march would be non-violent — "we carry no arms, only our ideals."

Mr. Scott, dressed in a striped sweat shirt and slacks, became vehement when asked the reason for the march.

"We support Mr. Kaunda in his opposition to federation. We have always believed it to be crooked and it is even crooked now," he said.

From then on Messrs. Rustin and Sutherland took up the running and they never looked back. First Sutherland ("I am an American citizen but am now living in Ghana") said that the peaceful invasion of Northern Rhodesia, which was intended by the march, was a repeat of the invasion of certain States in America by the Freedom Riders and the practice of Gandhi in India.

Sitter-in Rustin then came back with a reply to a question that the World Peace Brigade was not concerned with the United States Government's attitude to their nationals interfering in the affairs of other countries.

"Those Americans who come here to support us," he said, "will have all been arrested in the United States because we are opposed to injustice in our country or anywhere else."

As one of the three chairmen of the Peace Brigade, Mr. Scott followed this theme by saying that there were many people in Europe and America who were sympathetic to Mr. Kaunda's cause.

"We believe he is speaking for all humanity when he speaks for his own people."

Hot and dry

At the moment there is little sign of preparations for the big march. Even the leaders themselves do not know or will not say what their route will be.

But whichever way they go, it is still a long, hot and dry walk.

Mr. Scott promises there will be transport but nobody knows where it is coming from or how far it will go.

What the reception will be on the other side of the border is another large question mark.

Mr. Scott described the march as a "venture of faith."

The faith is undoubtedly there in the hearts of the dedicated few.

But whether the thousands that are expected will have the same faith will remain a question until Mr. Kaunda gives the call.

Meanwhile Dar es Salaam — Haven of Peace, capital of a new country — takes on a new role, springboard for "peaceful invasion".

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

April 27, 1962

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

Many thanks to you for sending the report of the Citizens Committee for Equal Rights for Voluntary Hospital Employees. Your active people did a good job on this fight. I am sure we will win in the next legislature.

I have just been called by Irwin Suall to ask me to invite you in the name of the Socialist Party to speak at its convention dinner the night of June 9th in Washington, the subject to be your own choosing but I think it should have to do with the problem of labor and race, and what in particular we Socialists should say. I will call you sometime next week.

I was glad that at least the Council shortened the time in which that committee on the economy of New York City was directed to report on our minimum wage proposal.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

May 21, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear ~~Mr. Randolph:~~ Phil

The enclosed will bring you up to date in the case of the Government versus William Worthy and will also tell you of our interest in the case.

It seems to me that a very serious issue is involved in what is virtually a government attempt, under the McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, to deprive a native-born American citizen of his rights as a citizen, simply because he traveled where government officials thought it wrong or inadvisable for him to go.

I find it hard to believe that the Kennedy administration really desires to press such a case. I suggest that the Attorney General might even now overrule this more or less routine prosecution if enough people presented a case against it in letters or telegrams to him.

I am asking if you will not personally consider such action. I should appreciate your letting me know what you think and what you feel you can do.

Frankly, what I should like is that the government should halt its prosecution. If, however, the Attorney General is determined to go through with the case, I think it would at least be in order to ask for a change of venue for the imminent arraignment and subsequent trial.

Both the arraignment and trial are now scheduled to be held in Miami. We are now seeking a change in venue, preferably to the Southern District of New York, where Mr. Worthy lives and where he voluntarily surrendered to the U.S. marshal after being indicted.

426

Mr. Worthy believes that his reporting and interpretation of the Cuban revolution would militate against the possibility of a fair trial in Miami. As you know, he is a Negro, which will not be in his favor. He has had some reason in Miami to be apprehensive of the effects of prejudice of the courts and physical harm to him from Cuban emigres.

This is the case for asking for the government to consent to a change of venue.

I am sure Mr. Worthy will appreciate -- as will I-- any action you can take along the lines suggested above. Neither he nor the Workers Defense League, which is supporting his case, will interpret such help as indicative of support for any public positions he may have taken, but only as an expression of your concern for the rights of travel of American citizens.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

oeiu 153
encl.

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 11, 1962.

Liberties Unit Backing Newsman Indicted by U.S. in Passport Case

Challenges Criminal Charge Against Citizen's Re-entry as Violation of Freedom

By PETER KIHSS

The New York Times

William Worthy Jr.

A civil liberties group is challenging what it believes to be the first criminal charges brought by the Government against a native-born citizen of re-entering the country.

The case is that of William Worthy Jr., foreign correspondent for The Baltimore Afro-American. He has been indicted for returning from Cuba without a United States passport. Under the Immigration Act of 1952, a conviction for such an illegality could bring a fine of up to $5,000 or five years' imprisonment, or both.

Norman Thomas, honorary chairman, and Vera Rony, executive secretary, said yesterday that the Workers Defense League was supporting Mr. Worthy's case because it believed "a fundamental human and constitutional right is involved—the right of American citizens to travel throughout the world on their own responsibility without the loss of their rights as citizens."

Will Ask Dismissal

William M. Kunstler, representing the league as Mr. Worthy's defense counsel, said the newsman was indicted April 24 in Miami, Fla., and surrendered voluntarily here April 25. He was freed in $5,000 bail.

A hearing has been tentatively set for Monday before United States Commissioner Earle N. Bishopp at the Federal Court House.

Mr. Kunstler said he would move to dismiss the indictment as a violation of constitutional freedoms, or to change the place of trial from Miami to New York because of tensions caused by the presence of many Cuban refugees in Miami.

Mr. Worthy, 39 years old, was born in Boston. He was graduated from Bates College, Lewiston, Me., with a bachelor's degree in sociology. He was a Nieman fellow in journalism at Harvard University in 1956 and 1957, and a Ford Foundation fellow in African studies in 1959 and 1960.

He went to Moscow in 1955 as a correspondent for The Afro-American and the Columbia Broadcasting System. The following year he was briefly detained in South Africa for having attempted to enter that country after being refused a visa.

In December, 1956, he entered Communist China in defiance of a United States ban on such travel, and spent forty-one days there. The State Department, in April, 1957, refused to renew his passport on the ground that he might not abide by geographical restrictions.

The American Civil Liberties Union supported his appeal then. In December, 1959, the United States Supreme Court refused to interfere with a lower-court decision that Congress had authorized travel restrictions by the President and that the President's foreign-policy powers authorized him to prevent travel that might endanger the national interest.

Mr. Kunstler said Mr. Worthy started for Mexico by ship last July 24 from New York, but had become ill and gone ashore in Havana instead. He returned to Miami from Havana by plane last Oct. 10, presenting a birth certificate and smallpox-vaccination certificate to immigration authorities.

Since Jan. 16, 1961, thirteen days after the Eisenhower Administration severed diplomatic relations with the Cuban regime of Premier Fidel Castro ,the State Department has required citizens desiring to visit Cuba to obtain passports specifically endorsed for such travel.

Mr. Worthy's dispatches were generally favorable to the Castro regime, Mr. Kunstler said.

REPRINTED FROM THE
Baltimore Afro-American

William Worthy, Afro foreign correspondent, Thursday afternoon, April 26, 1962, voluntarily surrendered to the U.S. marshal at federal district courthouse here (New York).

A warrant was issued on Tuesday in Miami directing the marshal in Manhattan to arrest Worthy and remove him to Miami to stand trial. The warrant stated that a federal grand jury in Miami on Tuesday indicted Worthy for entering the United States from Cuba on October 10, 1962 "without a valid United States passport."

Worthy flew from Havana to Miami aboard a regular daily Pan American flight with a small-pox vaccination certificate and a copy of his birth certificate proving U.S. citizenship.

If convicted of "illegally" returning to his country of his birth, Worthy faces a sentence of five years imprisonment, or $5000 fine, or both, under the McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. Numerous white Americans have returned home from various parts of the world in the past decade withou holding"a valid United States passport, but Worthy is the first person to be indicted.

Civil liberties attorneys who specialize in passport and immigration law are unanimous in stating that the indictmant is "utterly fantastic, with racial and political overtones.

Because a certified copy of the indictment had not been sent from Miami to New York, U.S. Commissioner Earle N. Bishopp adjourned the hearing until Friday, May 4 at 12 noon. Meanwhile, he held Worthy in $5000 bail.

The bail bond was guaranteed by the American Civil Liberties Union. Legal defense in the case will be handled by the Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Worthy's attorney, William M. Kunstler, has under consideration a motion asking the court in Miami to transfer the trial to New York. Because of Florida's racial prejudice and especially because of the political atmosphere engendered by the Cuban counter-revolutionaries in Miami, it will be argued that Worthy cannot obtain a fair trial there and that his life would be in danger.

It is expected that the U.S. Attorney in Miami, whose office sought the indictment six months after Worthy's return home, will vigorously oppose a notion for change of venue. Attorney General Robert Kennedy in Washington has full authority to overrule a local U.S. attorney.

While in Cuba for eleven weeks last year from July to October, Worthy filed numerous dispatches to the AFRO. In late September he scooped all other news agencies, including the U.S. wire services, on the successful flight to Cuba of Robert F. Williams, former president of the Monroe, N.C. NAACP. In a copyrighted dispatch to the AFRO Worthy related how Williams eluded a dragnet of hundreds of FBI agents and escaped via a "new Underground Railway."

* * * * *

Note:

Case postponed twice since: hearing now scheduled for May 21st, when Mr. Kunstler will seek, first, a dismissal and then a change of venue to New York.

WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE 112 East 19th Street N.Y. 3
AL 4-4953

May 28, 1962

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Norman:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 21, 1962 concerning the government case against Bill Worthy for re-entry into the country without a passport.

I fully agree with you that this case smacks of discrimination. It is wholly unworthy of our government to take such action against a citizen.

I will be glad to join in any movement the Workers Defense League takes to help defend William Worthy, Jr. who is a capable and honorable young man.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR/b

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

July 30, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
215 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

I have just written a follow-up letter to the Attorney General on the Bill Worthy case. I have already talked, as you know, to the Attorney General. I am absolutely sure that this is one case, perhaps unusual, in the sense that Bill's color has nothing to do with it. In the present anti-communist mood any white man who did what Bill did about a passport would, I am convinced, have been similarly treated. It is in this conviction that the WDL and myself have interested ourselves in this case. We should be exceedingly embarrassed if any meeting of Negroes in Harlem or elsewhere should try to make it a racial case. I should applaud such action if I thought it were true to fact, but it is not.

May I add that while I thought you were right in letting Malcolm X speak on the platform at the outdoor meeting, I think it would hurt, not help, the case if Negro segregationists desiring a separate lot of states should be conspicuous in a case in which the issues are constitutional. You know how much I trust your judgment, but I feel under some compulsion to put this point of view before you.

As ever

Yours,

Norman

NT:va

P.S. Of course, I think that the Negroes ought to support the case. Civil Rights and Civil Liberties are very closely connected, but Negroes ought not to act on the basis of special racial discrimination ~~in~~ in this particular matter.

NT

426

REPRINTED FROM THE
Baltimore Afro-American

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WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE 112 East 19th Street N.Y. 3
AL 4-4953

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Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

August 13, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Phil,

I enclose parts of many editorials dealing with the case of Junius I. Scales and recommending his pardon. Mr. Scales left the Communist Party five years ago and is the only man in the United States now imprisoned under the membership clause of the Smith Act. He began serving a six years prison sentence last October, after the Supreme Court by a 5-to-4 vote had validated conviction for active membership. Under that same decision, however, the government felt it could not further prosecute some men who are still members of Communist governing committees. A peculiar injustice, we think has been done to Mr. Scales and a grave disservice to American ideals of democracy and fair play.

The UAW last June passed a resolution urging the President to pardon him. The Attorney General we understand has started inquiries on Scales' formal request for pardon as filed by his lawyers and is adverse to "pressure campaigns". Nevertheless, we think that it would be good to have resolutions such as the UAW passed on hand. For the present we probably should avoid too great hullabaloo. Resolutions should not be identical from all unions, but they might well be worded much like the UAW resolution with the addition of some such sentence as this:

> "We understand that the Attorney General's office in behalf of the President is now making a careful examination of Mr. Scales' application for pardon. We wish to express our hope, even our confidence, it will be favorable".

If you would pass such a resolution, which in the long run cannot but be helpful, would you be good enough to send us a copy?

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:am
Norman Thomas

RECEIVED
AUG 14 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RESOLUTATION ADOPTED BY UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS AT MAY 1962 CONVENTION

We support clemency for Junius Scales. He is imprisoned under a six-year sentence for the crime of membership in the Communist Party. The law under which he was convicted should never have been enacted because it is an attack on a fundamental freedom - freedom of association. It makes mere membership in an organization a crime. There is bitter irony in the fact that Scales, the only person in the United States imprisoned for this crime, is in jail for membership in an organization - the Communist Party - which he repudiated as long ago as 1957.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1962

Letters to the Editor

Clemency for Junius Scales

A genuine admiration for *The Washington Post's* proven devotion to civil liberties leads me to urge your support for the release of Junius Scales from Federal prison.

Scales was convicted under the Smith Act of active and knowing membership in the Communist Party and was sentenced to six years in jail. He entered prison on Oct. 2, 1961, and will presumably remain there until he is eligible for parole unless the responsible anti-Communist elements of the national community persuade the Attorney General to recommend clemency.

Scales has no legion of pro-Communists beating the drums for his release for the very simple reason that Hungary and the revelation of the Stalin crimes caused him to repudiate the Communist movement in 1957. Thus, Scales is in a no-man's land with the pro-Communists laughing at his plight and the remainder of the community largely unconcerned with his fate or unconvinced of his break with the Party.

The case for Scales' release stands on far firmer ground than the fact that the Communists mock him. There are 10,000 present members of the Communist Party in the United States (according to FBI Director Hoover) and not a single one of them is in jail for the crime of active and knowing membership in the Party. The conviction of John Noto, a Communist Party leader, was reversed by the Supreme Court on the ground that the evidence in his case showed only the mere abstract teaching of Communist theory, and the Government has now dropped his case completely.

Claude Lightfoot and Max Weiss, both Communist Party leaders, had their indictments dismissed by the Government because there was insufficient evidence to proceed with the prosecutions in light of the Noto decision. And just a month ago John Hellman, another Communist Party leader, had his case thrown out by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals because there was no "clear proof" of Hellman's illegal intentions.

There is something wrong with a system of justice which has an ex-Communist in jail for the crime of active and knowing membership in the Party while 10,000 actual members, many of whom are undoubtedly as active and as knowing Communists as Scales ever was, remain free.

One may well ask how Scales could have been convicted of active and knowing membership in the Party while Noto and Hellman went free. The answer can hardly lie in the difference between Scales' conduct in the Party and that of Noto and Hellman; substantial variances in speech, action and intent by Party functionaries is hardly likely in so disciplined an organization. Rather, the answer lies in differences in the testimony of the Government's informers at the different trials.

There is something repugnant, as Mr. Justice Black emphasized in the Noto case, in making "the existence of liberty . . . dependent upon the efficiency of the Government's informers," particularly in an area where free speech and association are so directly involved. Even though the courts may be bound by such differing testimony of informers, the Department of Justice is well aware that there is no actual difference between the speech, action and intent of the man in jail and that of many of the 10,000 Party members outside.

The discrimination against Scales would be patent, even if he were still a member of the Party. It becomes monstrous in view of his break with it. Why, then, does the Justice Department not act to end this monumental injustice? The answer comes from the words of Justice Department attorneys at the hearing on the motion to reduce Scales' sentence; it is simply that the FBI accuses Scales of Crime Number One—"lack of cooperation with the FBI."

Scales has consistently refused to inform upon and bring bad trouble to the people he recruited into the Communist Party. The refusal of a hardened criminal to name his associates in crime may be grounds for withholding clemency; the refusal of an ex-Communist to name former associates in the Party, who are accused of no crime and who may long since have ceased, as has Scales, to be members of the Party, is a totally different matter. Keeping Scales in prison to force him into the role of an informer is simply a genteel American version of Darkness at Noon.

In the long run, Attorney Generals are remembered for their devotion to civil liberties. Attorney General Kennedy evidenced his devotion to civil liberties recently when he approved passport regulations permitting accused Communists to face their accusers. One can hope that he and his associates will see the Scales case as another opportunity to strike a blow for liberty and fairness. It is the responsibility of those who hold the view that a free society must never accept injustice to speak up now.

JOSEPH L. RAUH JR.
Washington.

(See editorial, "Tempering Justice.")

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER •• THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1962

The Washington Post

EUGENE MEYER, 1875—1959

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Tempering Justice

A letter from Joseph L. Rauh Jr., published on this page today, argues persuasively for executive clemency in the case of Junius Scales. A number of other distinguished citizens have voiced the same plea, Reinhold Niebuhr, Grenville Clark, President Robert F. Goheen of Princeton and Norman Thomas among them. It seems impossible to escape agreement with Mr. Rauh that "there is something wrong with a system of justice which has an ex-Communist in jail for the crime of active and knowing membership in the Party while 10,000 actual members, many of whom are undoubtedly as active and as knowing Communists as Scales ever was, remain free."

Scales, the scion of a socially and politically prominent North Carolina family, became a Communist when he was a student at the University of North Carolina in 1940. He became an organizer in the Party's Southern wing. In 1957 he quit the Party in disgust over the invasion of Hungary and the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin. But prior to this he had been indicted and convicted under the Smith Act for "knowing membership" in a conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the Government and sentenced to six years in prison, the longest sentence ever given under the Smith Act.

The Supreme Court divided five to four in sustaining this conviction last June, on the same day that it threw out the conviction of John Francis Noto, an admitted and continuing Party functionary, on the ground that the Government had presented insufficient evidence of "illegal Party advocacy." Scales, the only person ever convicted under the membership clause of the Smith Act—that is, merely for belonging to the Communist Party, with no illegal activity of any sort charged against him—started to serve his term on October 2 of last year.

What a laugh this must give the Commies! The Government of the United States, leaving Communists comfortably at liberty, in effect joins hands with them to punish an ex-member whom they hate for his apostasy. Moreover, the absurdity of this paradox is heightened when one reflects that Scales is being punished for a political crime—the holding of bad beliefs and bad associations—which most Americans like to believe is punishable only in Communist countries. If President Kennedy were to pardon Scales, he would be tempering justice not alone with mercy but with equity and common sense as well.

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JUNE 11, 1962

The 250 Days

JAMES A. WECHSLER

It is 250 days (and nights) since 41-year-old Junius Scales said goodby to his wife and 10-year-old daughter and began serving a six-year term for violation of the Smith Act's prohibition on "knowing membership" in the Communist Party.

It is nearly five years since Scales quit the Communist Party in anger and disenchantment over Khrushchev's suppression of the Hungarian rebellion.

And today, in Greensboro, N. C.—Scales' native state—attorney McNeill Smith will make public a series of documents transmitted last week to Attorney General Robert Kennedy in an appeal for executive clemency.

* * *

The documents include, in addition to a formal petition for clemency, indorsements by nine of the 12 jurors who convicted Scales, two U. S. district judges, the senior partners of five leading Greensboro law firms, professors of constitutional law at Duke and North Carolina, and statements by many leaders of the ministry, business and other areas of life in that state. Their statements supplement the signatures of hundreds of citizens of diverse political view in the rest of the country—from John Dos Passos to Walter Reuther—who were enlisted in support of Scales by a committee led by Princeton's Robert Goheen, Grenville Clark, Norman Thomas and Reinhold Niebuhr.

And so this case draws to another and, prayerfully, final climax. If this appeal is turned down, Scales is doomed to another interminable time of imprisonment before a new plea can be filed. It seems almost inconceivable that the Kennedy Administration will prolong this irrational injustice; surely even those who initially opposed Scales' release must agree that eight months in prison has been more than enough.

Rarely has a case been so full of cruel and absurd paradox. In a legal memorandum accompanying the plea for clemency, attorney Smith and his New York associate, Telford Taylor, point out:

> Petitioner is the only person who has undergone or is undergoing punishment for violation of the membership clause of the Smith Act. The other prosecution under that clause initiated at about the same time and reversed by the Supreme Court simultaneously with the reversal of Scales' first conviction (Claude Lightfoot), has been abandoned by the government. Every conspiracy prosecution for violation of substantive clauses of the Smith Act relating to unlawful advocacy has likewise been abandoned, save only the proceeding in Denver, Col. (the Bary case), and the judgments of conviction following the second trial in that case have been reversed by the Court of Appeals . . .
>
> The net result of all this is that the petitioner is now the only person on whom the penal sanctions of the Smith Act are being brought to bear, and they are bearing on him in pursuance of the most severe sentence which has been imposed under that Act. In the meantime, publicly-announced and prominent officials of the Communist Party remain at large, and no effort is being made to invoke the Smith Act with respect to them.

* * *

Are there those who will say eight months is a small time, and that perhaps a few more months (or years) of this man's life must be exacted to appease the political bloodhounds on Capitol Hill? Will it be cynically suggested that some additional time may break his spirit, and persuade him to "name names" of others whom he has refused as a matter of conscience to subject to unfair and retroactive punishment?

It has long been an open secret that Scales could have made such a deal. He is in jail now essentially because he would not do so. Would this republic be a better place if he could be beaten into such a confession and emerge from prison hating himself?

One must ask, too, who will dare to say that these eight months have been a short interval for Junius Scales. The measurement of time is an elusive thing; those who talk lightly of the time he has served have had many good dinners in the interim; countless plays have been born and died, and millions of leaves have fallen and been replaced; the President and the Attorney General have journeyed thousands of miles in splendor and excitement. Was this a brief interlude for a man in exile—especially a man no longer committed to the cause for which he had been jailed, and serving only out of fidelity to conscience?

* * *

One doubts whether anyone on the outside can imagine what it has been like for such a man to have been on the inside this long, and even to glimpse the hours of boredom and frustration he has endured.

The legal grounds for clemency have been stated well by Scales' attorneys. Above and beyond them is the elementary human ground. It would demean what Scales has stood for to say that he should be released for the sake of his wife and child. But one would be derelict not to remind the President and the Attorney General that they exist, and that each day of delay is a pitilessly long one for them.

There may be no "political mileage" for the Kennedys in the release of Junius Scales. There may be only the solace that they have been able to use their vast power, which came to them so early in life, in behalf of justice and compassion. Such opportunities do not come too often to many men.

(OVER)

The New York Times.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

PUBLISHED EVERY DAY IN THE YEAR BY THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Chairman of the Board*
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JUNE 14, 1962.

A Political Prisoner

Junius Irving Scales of North Carolina has since last fall been serving a six-year term in a Federal prison because he was convicted in 1955 under the Smith Act of having been a member of the Communist party. His unique position is that he is the only member or former member of the Communist party of America in jail on that precise count. There is no doubt that Mr. Scales was in his youth a card-carrying Communist, but in 1957 he publicly rejected the party.

The President is now being asked to pardon Mr. Scales. The pardon petition carries the signatures of Norman Thomas, President Robert F. Goheen of Princeton and other distinguished citizens, including two Federal judges, and five senior members of outstanding North Carolina law firms, as well as nine of the twelve jurors who voted for conviction.

Mr. Scales would not be in prison at all if the Supreme Court last year had had one more member in favor of reversing his conviction. He would not be in prison if the Smith Act had been written in more specific terms or with greater respect for the basic liberties. We do not believe he showed an intelligent understanding of what was going on in the world when he joined the Communist party in the first place; but it does not appear that this one young man, manifestly a misguided idealist, was any menace to our Government or to the United States as a nation. He certainly is not a menace now. There is something un-American in having even one political prisoner in the United States; and we think the President would serve justice and the interests of this free democracy in commuting the sentence of Junius Scales.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JUNE 12, 1962.

FREEDOM SOUGHT BY EX-COMMUNIST

Scales Petitions President —2 U.S. Judges Back Him

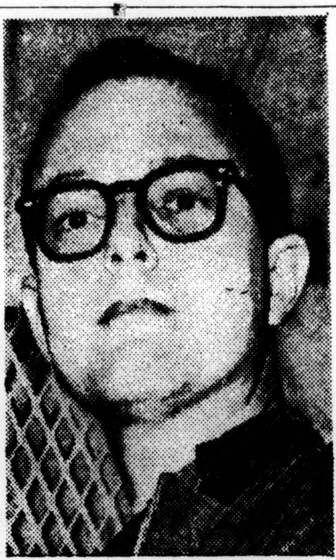
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 11—Junius Irving Scales, a former Communist party leader who is in prison for violation of the Smith Act, asked President Kennedy today for a pardon or commutation of sentence.

Scales is serving a six-year sentence in the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. He was convicted of having violated the clause of the Smith Act that makes it a crime to be a member of a party advocating violent overthrow of the Government.

The Supreme Court upheld the conviction by a 5-to-4 vote a year ago, rejecting constitutional attacks on the Smith Act's membership clause. Scales went to prison last Oct. 2. He would be eligible for parole Oct. 2, 1963.

His clemency petition to the President was accompanied by unusual endorsements. Among the persons supporting it were two Federal judges from his native North Carolina, nine of the twelve jurors who convicted him and five senior partners of leading North Carolina law firms.


United Press International

Junius Irving Scales

Scales, 42 years old, is a member of a North Carolina family that goes back to the Colonial period. He was a member of the Communist party from 1946 to 1957 and was, for a time, party chairman for North and South Carolina. He publicly resigned from the party in 1957.

The petition notes that Scales was never charged with personally advocating violent overthrow of the Government.

It was sent to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, since the Justice Department makes clemency recommendations to the President. With it went a legal memorandum from Scales' lawyer, McNeill Smith of Greensboro, N. C.

The two judges who wrote in Scales' behalf were Federal District Judges J. Braxton Craven Jr. and L. Richardson Preyer.

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Junius Scales

Inmate No. 28398 in the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, is rather unusual among those who have been convicted under the Smith Act in that he has not even the masochistic solace of martyrdom for a cause. A Communist from 1940 and the party leader for North Carolina at the time of his conviction in 1955, Junius Scales broke his ties with Communism in 1957, in revulsion over Soviet intervention in Hungary and shock at the revelations of the Twentieth Party Congress. The Supreme Court upheld his conviction by a 5-4 margin last June. When Scales began his six-year term, in October, he had been an ex-Communist for four years.

The Scales case, like others interpreting the Smith Act, found the judges in sharp disagreement and left the fine distinctions of political crime in the United States more abstruse than ever. In the original test of the act as a weapon against Communism, in 1949, the court found Party Secretary Eugene Dennis and ten other party officials guilty of conspiracy to teach and advocate overthrow of the government by force. This criterion of advocacy was narrowed to mean incitement to action in the court's 1957 reversal of convictions of fourteen West Coast Communist leaders. This decision was believed likely to restrict the Justice Department in prosecuting Communists under the Smith Act, and government lawyers turned to another clause of the act that makes "knowing the purposes" of party membership a crime. The conviction of Scales was, in fact, upheld on this ground. But in a concurrent decision the court reversed the conviction of a Buffalo party organizer named John Francis Noto who, unlike Scales, was then and apparently continues to be an active Communist. The cases of Scales and Noto proved of no more use as precedents for government prosecution of Communists than did the earlier Smith Act cases. This became clear in November, a month after Scales entered Lewisburg and Noto went back to Buffalo, when the Justice Department dropped a long-standing Smith Act case against Claude Lightfoot, vice-chairman of the Communist Party's national committee. The difficulty of proving "knowing" membership—of judging the difference between a Scales and a Noto, whatever that may be—had made the complex problem of prosecuting Smith Act cases even more confused. Other cases now pending are also likely to be dropped.

These vicissitudes of the controversial Smith Act are matters that the Supreme Court will smooth in time—perhaps, as Justice Douglas wrote in his Scales case opinion, "... at a time when the fear of advocacy, dissent, and non-conformity no longer casts a shadow over us." In the meantime, Junius Scales can find little satisfaction in the thought that he may be the last, as well as the first, to be convicted under the act's "knowing membership" clause. For he is serving the longest sentence ever pronounced on an American Communist.

Why? Scales was a minor figure compared to Eugene Dennis (who got five years—one less than Scales—and served forty months) or Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (who got three years). Far from deterring still free Communists such as Claude Lightfoot, the Scales example has served only to hinder their prosecution. Nor can the treatment of Scales—in jail for what he believed five years ago—be likely to hearten disaffected Communists who might think of following his decision to leave the party. The only clue to the severity of Scales's sentence is found in the argument used by the Justice Department in successfully opposing a reduction of his term, that "... in view of the defendant's lack of co-operation with the FBI ..." (and because he was seen once in 1961 drinking coffee with a Communist official who was also a particular friend), his renunciation of the party was suspect.

Scales did not co-operate with the FBI or testify at his trial because he did not wish to name names of former associates. Like many another ex-Communist, he was resigned to paying the penalty of his bad judgment (and for forty-one-year-old Scales this has meant half a life wasted), but he was unwilling to implicate others, some of whom may also have long since rejected Communism.

By commuting Scales's sentence the President could set right what seems to be a judgment unfruitful for the government and unnecessarily harsh against Scales. A petition for such a pardon is now circulating and we hope it will receive favorable attention in the White House.

THE REPORTER
THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

VOLUME 26, NO. 6 MARCH 15, 1962

Norman Thomas

August 20, 1962

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Norman:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 13, 1962 suggesting resolution be passed in behalf of clemency for Junius Scales, the one individual in the country imprisoned under the membership clause of the Smith Act although he left the Party five years ago.

I am enclosing herewith copy of resolution.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1962 JUL 10 PM 6 51

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

GPA118 AA349 =

A LLY467 LLZ28 LLZ28 PD ATLANTA GA 10 NFT =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

MARTIN LUTHER KING AND RALPH D ABERNATHY TODAY ELECTED TO =SERVE A 45 DAY JAIL SENTENCE AT ALBANY GEORGIA FOR PEACEFULLY =PROTESTING SEGREGATION LAST DECEMBER BOTH OF THEM CHOSE TO =DEFER BAIL OR PAYMENT OF FINE OUT OF CONCERN FOR FATE OF 700 =OTHERS SIMILIARLY SITUATED BOTH BELIEVE THEIR MORAL WITNESS =NEEDED TO RESURRECT JUSTICE IN ALBANY WE REQUEST YOU JOIN US

=IN PROTESTING THESE UNJUST JAIL SENTENCES AND URGE THE IMMEDIATE =RELEASE OF DR KING AND REV ABERNATHY TELEGRAMS SHOULD BE FORWARDED =TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY ATTORNEY GENERAL GOVERNOR VANDIVER AND =POLICE CHIEF LAURIE PRITCHETT OF ALBANY GA TO INSURE ADEQUATE : =SAFETY WHILE DRS KING AND ABERNATHY WORK ON THE STREET FORCE =IN ALBANY VERY TRULY YOURS =

WYATT T WALKER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO DR KING. :

RECEIVED
JUL 11 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

1962 JUL 29 AM 5 15

CGA051 PA159
AA026 A LLY017 LLZ1 LLZ1 PD ATLANTA GA 28 NFT
A PHILLIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH ST NYK

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR RALPH D ABERNATHY AND MORE THAN 200 OTHERS ARE NOW JAILED BECAUSE THEY HAVE PEACEFULLY PROTESTED SEGREGATION IN ALBANY GEORGIA STOP WE INSIST THAT FIRST AMENDMENT PRIVILEGES MUST BE RESPECTED EVERY WHERE IN THIS NATION STOP JAIL CONDITIONS IN ALBANY AMERICUS NEWTON CAMILLA AND LEESBURG GEORGIA ARE IN HUMANE AND INSUFFERABLE STOP WOULD APPRECIATE SOME PUBLIC WORD TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO SPEAK CLEARLY ON THE ISSUE OF SEGREGATION AS A NATIONAL PROBLEM; THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE VIOLATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL PRIVILEGES

AND OR GOVERNOR VANDIVER MAYOR ASA KELLY AND CHIEF LAURIE PRITCHETT STOP COPIES SHOULD BE FORWARDED TO US AT 914 CEDAR AVENUE ALBANY GEORGIA SINCERELY YOURS

WYATT TEE WALKER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO DR MARTIN LUTHER KING JR SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 8, 1962

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Secretary Goldberg has told us of his correspondence with you and of your desire and that of your Executive Board to meet with the President.

I am certain that the President would be glad to meet with your board, but his present schedule is such that we cannot now arrange such a meeting. May I suggest, therefore, that you contact us again in about six weeks or so -- hopefully the schedule situation will have eased and a meeting can be arranged.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
National President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

RECEIVED
JUN 11 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 15, 1962

Mr. Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of June 8 to Mr. A.Philip Randolph, which was received in his absence from the city. I shall bring it to his attention upon his return to the office at the end of the month.

Sincerely,

Bernice Wilds
Secretary to Mr. Randolph

July 25, 1962

Mr. Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Referring to your letter of June 8, 1962 in which you stated:

> "I am certain that the President would be glad to meet with your board, but his present schedule is such that we cannot now arrange such a meeting. May I suggest, therefore, that you contact us again in about six weeks or so -- hopefully the schedule situation will have eased and a meeting can be arranged."

May I say that the National Executive Board of the Negro American Labor Council, and myself, will be immensely appreciative if you can arrange a conference with the President for our committee of Negro trade unionists at his convenience.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
President

C

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

June 21, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Phil:

The attached is self explanatory.

Cordially,

Roy

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

RW/eb
Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Text of wire sent June 20, 1962:

Hon. Robert F. Kennedy
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

National Association for Advancement of Colored People is disturbed over the scheduled prosecution of William Worthy under a provision of the 1952 McCarran Act. We support the request of Mr. Worthy's attorneys for a change of venue. Our attorneys have searched diligently but thus far have found no record of any other person having been prosecuted in the precise circumstances alleged in the case of Mister Worthy.

Roy Wilkins
20 West 40th St.

PLEASE POST

YOU CAN'T COME HOME ANY MORE

QUESTION; Is a passport more valid than your birth certificate

WILLIAM WORTHY, correspondent for the AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS was indicted in Miami, Florida, on April 24, 1962, for re-entering his native land with out a "valid passport".

This is the first time a native born American has been persecuted for coming home.

WHY BILL WORTHY?

C. W. Mackay, Editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS says...

> "We view this indictment and arrest of Mr. Worthy as further harassment because of his repeated charges delivered from lecture platforms all over the country that the FBI falsified information in its desperate attempt to arrest Robert Williams President of the NAACP chapter in Monroe, N. C."

A. Philip Randolph, International President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters says........

> "I fully agree with you that this case smacks of discrimination. It is wholly unworthy of our government to take such action against a citizen".

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

JOIN US

**********PICKET LINE***********

PLACE: UNITED NATIONS****43 Street & 1st Ave. NYC

DATE: SATURDAY AFTERNOON JUNE 23, 1962

TIME: 1:00 PM----------RAIN OR SHINE

Sponsored By: Americans Right to Travel Committee (An ad hoc non-political committee)
244 East 46 Street NYC Tel: YU 6-5939

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

July 23, 1962

Mr. Roy Wilkins
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Roy:

On August 7 in the racially and politically hostile atmosphere of Miami, William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, goes on trial on the unprecedented charge of returning home to his native land "without bearing a valid passport." Because of vehement Justice Department opposition to a change of venue, Mr. Worthy's volunteer attorneys lost on a motion to have the trial transferred to New York or Washington.

This vindictive and discriminatory prosecution, under the 1952 McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act, represents a threat to all of us and to the principles of liberty that we hold dear. In singling out Mr. Worthy and ~~on~~ no one else for prosecution, the federal govt is affronting the entire Negro community. If successful in obtaining a conviction, the Justice Department will have gravely encroached upon freedom of the press and the constitutional right to travel.

Because of the seriousness of this case, and because of my role as vice-president of the Workers Defense League which has undertaken Mr. Worthy's defense, I am inviting Negro leaders to meet with me at my office on Tuesday afternoon, July 31, at 2:00 p.m. Mr. Worthy will give us a report on the facts and background of the case, and then we will move on to appropriate action.

Will you let me know if you can join us? I hope very much that you will be present.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. If you will not be in the city on July 31, would you kindly send a representative who can sign, in your name, any collective statement decided on by those present.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

July 23, 1962

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20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

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NEW YORK TELEPHONE
SPRING 7-6346

WILLIAM WORTHY
87 HOWLAND STREET
BOSTON 21, MASS. HIGHLANDS 5-2844

apartment 2
210 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

June 3, 1962

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Phil:

No doubt you've read about my latest travel conflict with officialdom. The Times had a surprisingly sympathetic piece by Peter Kihss in the May 11th issue. The enclosed column by Mark Ethridge Jr. has been syndicated by the Knight papers.

In the next day or two I'd like to give you a ring and discuss what some of the Freedom Riders and others have in mind by way of protesting my indictment: picketing of Attorney General Kennedy in Baltimore on June 22 (Friday evening, 8:00 P.M.) at Morgan State College refectory when he addresses the annual three-day conference of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association; and picketing of Adlai Stevenson at the U.S. Mission to the UN the following afternoon, Saturday, June 23, 1:30 P.M. Dorothy Day of The Catholic Worker has already said she would join the demonstration here at the U.S. Mission.

Kind personal regards.

Cordially,

Bill

enclosure

Rowland Watts and all the other lawyers who've been consulted on the case say the indictment for "illegal re-entry without a valid passport" into one's own country is constitutionally absurd. But in the worsening political climate who knows what the Supreme Court may rule in 1964 or 1965 when the case gets up there? Hence the campaign to halt the prosecution.

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

NEW YORK TELEPHONE
SPRING 7-6346

WILLIAM WORTHY
87 HOWLAND STREET
BOSTON 21, MASS. HIGHLANDS 5-2844

apartment 2
210 East 19th St.
New York 3, N.Y.
July 11, 1962

Dear Phil,

This has been such a hectic week that the compiling of the suggested invitation list you requested has taken longer than expected. I'm sure other names will occur to me, and I'll pass them on to Miss Wilds.

As I understand it, the time has been set for Tuesday afternoon, July 31, 2:00 P.M., at your office, with the press to be invited. I have marked the enclosed *Catholic Worker* article with the salient facts of the case in red, in case you wish to cite some of the facts in your letters of invitation.

The most important current fact is that the trial has now been set for August 7th in Miami, Florida.

Until Sunday (July 15) I'll be here in New York. Then home to Boston for about two weeks. Of course I'll be back in time for the July 31st session.

If before I leave New York Miss Wilds should find that she is too swamped with work to get out all the invitations promptly, I believe that in a pinch I could find one or two volunteers who would type some of the letters if provided with the necessary letterheads and envelopes.

If a careful record is kept of who is actually invited, Dan Watts, maybe Sam Friedman of the WDL and I could telephone everyone 2-3 days before the meeting to remind them.

The enclosed is an all-Negro list -- a fact that I think will heighten the public impact.

Cordially,

Bill

enclosures: 2

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1962
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

[1962]

July 17th -- Tuesday

Dear Miss Wilds,

On the phone last night Mr. Randolph agreed with my suggestion that on some of the letters (e.g., to Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, Jim Farmer, James Forman of SNCC) a P.S. should be added:

> P.S. If you will not be in the city on July 31, would you kindly send a representative who can sign in your name any collective statement decided on by those present.

Also, because of the speed factor and also because of Mr. Randolph's personal relationship with the above-named persons, would you possibly be able yourself to type ~~those four~~ the letters to those four persons, plus Martin Luther King Jr.?

SNCC moved recently: 135 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. James Forman's title is executive secretary. I'm sure he'll designate a SNCC person in New York to attend.

King's SCLC also moved recently: 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta (phone: 524-1378).

Many thanks,

Bill

Bill Worthy

July 31, 1962

STATEMENT RE: WILLIAM WORTHY CASE

One week from today, on August 7, 1962, William Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American, is scheduled to be tried in U.S. District Court in Miami for the unheard-of "crime" of re-entering the country of his birth "without bearing a valid passport."

For the overwhelming span of American history nearly all U.S. citizens who journed abroad did so freely, without carrying any kind of official document. It is an unfortunate mark of our present-day regimented thinking and behavior that, since 1952, the American people have accepted and tolerated the McCarran Act provision requiring a passport as a condition of departure and re-entry.

Over and above this specific law, which has been very harmful to America's reputation abroad, stands the fact that only Mr. Worthy has been indicted on charges of lacking a passport. Civil Liberties lawyers who have checked the record of enforcement assert that numerous white citizens not bearing passports have left the United States and returned, without being penalized in any way by the Department of Justice. Since Mr. Worthy is colored, the peoples of the world inevitably draw their own conclusions.

With all the forcefulness at our command we call for the indictment to be quashed forthwith. It appears that the McCarran Act of 1952 is not only blatantly unconstitutional in restricting the right to travel, but that Mr. Worthy is being singled out for prosecution because he reports the news as he sees it and upholds the people's right to know.

In the remaining days before the scheduled trial we call on Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to grant an immediate appointment to a delegation chosen by the undersigned, in order that the Administration better understand that the colored community has a deep and abiding concern with the outcome of this extraordinary and improper indictment.

Office of: A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Telephone MOnument 2-5080

You Can't Come Home Any More

By WILLIAM WORTHY

According to top civil liberties attorneys in this country, on April 24, 1962 I became the first person ever to be indicted for coming home.

"The charge—and the McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, upon which it is based—approach the point of constitutional absurdity," says Rowland Watts, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union and board member of the Workers Defense League, which is supporting my legal defense.

The one-count indictment, returned by a federal grand jury in Miami, charges that on October 10, 1961 I "did unlawfully, willfully and knowingly enter the United States without bearing a valid passport."

The facts in the case are not in dispute. On the date of the "crime" (which is punishable by a five-year sentence or $5,000 fine, or both) I flew from Havana to Miami aboard a regular daily flight of Pan American World Airways. At Miami International Airport, U. S. immigration, customs and health inspectors cleared me for re-entry into my country of birth after I presented a smallpox vaccination certificate and a copy of my birth certificate.

I had been in Cuba for eleven weeks—my fourth visit since the Revolution and my first trip since the outgoing Eisenhower administration had banned travel to that island on January 16, 1961.

Not since March, 1957, following my "unauthorized" trip to China, have I had a passport. Renewal was denied when I refused to sign an oath promising in the future to abide by "geographical restrictions" decreed by the State Department. Ultimately, after a three-year legal battle, the Supreme Court refused to review my appeal, presumably because it was too hot a potato. The great and courageous Justice Black noted that he favored a review. Justice Douglas disqualified himself: the State Department had rejected his application to go to China one summer for National Geographic magazine.

Had I been upheld—had the Court said a citizen could go to China or to any country willing to admit him—the high wall of our diplomatic, trade and travel embargo on China would have been seriously breached.

As pernicious as the bans are on traveling to the fluctuating list of forbidden countries—my attorney, William M. Kunstler, stresses that travel control is thought control—the new government wrinkle on "illegal re-entry" is even worse. Consider some of the potential applications. An anti-nuclear student, vacationing in England, joins a ban-the-bomb demonstration. The State Department cancels his passport. Comes time to return home, he has the "choice" of staying abroad indefinitely or re-entering the U. S. "without bearing a valid passport."

Or an American tourist, for some reason out of favor in Washington, loses his passport while traveling, or has it stolen on a ship coming home. (This happens each year to many Americans abroad.)

(Continued on page 8)

The Catholic Worker
June, 1962

You Can't Come Home

(Continued from page 1)

By stalling on the issuance of a new passport or by refusing to issue one, the State Department would have him in an impossible box.

Or a U. S. citizen travels to Canada, Mexico or a Caribbean island where, by Presidential dispensation under the McCarran Act, no passport is at the moment required. During his journey the country he finds himself in is suddenly added, by Presidential proclamation in Washington, to the list of countries where a U. S. citizen must have a passport. If Washington then refuses to issue him a passport for his return trip home, he too is effectively exiled.

These are not far-fetched examples. During the McCarthy era numerous Americans had their passports cancelled and seized by our embassies abroad, with rudeness, arrogance and no explanation. On January 16, 1961, when President Eisenhower decreed that henceforth a specially validated passport was needed for travel to and from Cuba, thousands of Americans who had lived for years in Cuba without holding any passport at all became dependent on the uncertain grace and mercy of the State Department if they decided to come home.

I know why I was indicted. The "illegal re-entry" charge, six and a half months after my return, is a mere cover. I was indicted because I have reported [redacted] positive achievements of revolution, including elimination of all racial My paper, the Baltimore Afro-American, has a not insignificant A.B.C. circulation of 148,000 and, in today's world, a very strategic Negro readership that is interested in colonial and racial issues abroad.

Three regional lecture bureaus have booked me to speak on Cuba at many colleges and universities where, without exception, the student audiences have proved to be highly receptive to a facts-supported dissent on our futile Cuban policy. Shortly before I was indicted, the FBI paid a visit to the Midwest lecture bureau in a transparent effort to scare them into dropping me from their roster.

On Friday evening, June 22, at 8:00 P.M., when the President's brother addresses the Negro Newspapers Publishers Association at Morgan State College in Baltimore, an ad hoc group of students, Freedom Riders and others will picket in protest against the indictment. Chartered buses from New York, Philadelphia and Washington will transport to Baltimore everyone interested in joining the demonstration.

In New York on the following afternoon, Saturday, June 23, at 1:30 P.M., Ambassador Adali Stevenson will be picketed at the U. S. Mission to the United Na-

contact Daniel H. Watts, 244 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Telephone: YUkon 6-5939.

Venturesome Americans, **returning home from abroad and wishing** to see the Cuban revolution **for** themselves, can fly directly **from** Prague to Havana on twice-a-week Cuban and Czech planes after obtaining a visa from a Cuban embassy or consulate.

Our Cuba travel ban, devised, it is claimed, to "protect" us from non-existent dangers on that island, is a total fraud. Americans true to a heritage of civil disobedience should ignore the ban, violate it and expose it for what it is. Particularly when American **students** apply to visit Cuba, I hope that Fidel Castro will cooperate and expedite their trip. I would like him to instruct his cautious and slow-moving Immigration Office to speed up the issuance of visas, even though this would inevitably mean that, in the guise of undergraduates, a few CIA agents (comically easy to spot) will slip in.

The Detroit Free Press
AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER
JOHN S. KNIGHT, PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
LEE HILLS, VICE PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE EDITOR
HENRY C. WEIDLER, BUSINESS MANAGER
Published every morning by Knight Newspapers, Inc., 321 W. Lafayette Ave., Detroit 31, Michigan

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1962

The Worthy Case Of the Passport Comes Up Again

BY MARK ETHRIDGE, JR.
Free Press Associate Editor

THE NEWEST chapter in a long and muddled story was written in Miami this month when William Worthy was indicted for making an illegal trip to Cuba.

A federal grand jury charged him with returning from Cuba last October 10 with no valid passport for re-entry, a crime carrying a maximum penalty of $5,000 and five years in prison.

Ethridge

Why Worthy had no passport is part of the old story. He is an American citizen, in reasonably good standing with everyone but the State Department, and he has shown himself to be an enterprising reporter.

Worthy was one of three American newsmen who defied the State Department by visiting Red China in the fall of 1956, representing the Baltimore Afro-American. The others were photographer Philip Harrington and reporter Edmund Stevens, both of Look magazine.

On Dec. 28, while the three were still in China, the department announced that it was revoking their passports, allowing them only to return home.

• • •

THOUGH the passports were not picked up, nor any action taken, Worthy was unable to get his renewed in the spring of 1957, when he asked for one. The State Department said only that his passport had expired and a new one would not be issued.

The storm this announcement set up has yet to end.

Sen. William Fulbright (D., Ark.) submitted a resolution calling for a reversal of the policy, and Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.) said, "we close only our eyes and indulge ourselves in the luxury of self-righteousness." He suggested that Secretary of State John F. Dulles himself ought to travel in Communist lands.

In July, under heavy pressure, Dulles backed off—at least a little. He offered to allow "a limited number" of American reporters to travel to Red China for a six-month trial period. This satisfied no one.

Publisher John S. Knight wrote that the plan was "discriminatory and unfair," said that Dulles "wants to pick his own list of 'sound men' and then be the sole judge of their performance."

Nevertheless, 24 reporters, including Keyes Beech, Far East correspondent for The Detroit Free Press and Chicago Daily News, were given visas to go. They began gathering in Hong Kong in the middle of August, a full year after their original starting time.

• • •

THEN, on August 23, Dulles pulled the rug out. He said the reporters would be granted visas to visit Red China, but that no Red Chinese newsmen would be admitted to the United States. He then went on to say that the newsmen would be working at "abnormal personal risk," and suggested that the reporters look into unrest in China and interview Americans in Chinese jails.

Obviously, newsmen good enough to be sent to Red China did not have to be told how to report a story by the travel, and to put the blame on the Communists.

He couldn't have done better. Peiping, which had never suggested sending reporters to this country, pounced on the issue. Within 48 hours it had asked the U.S. to admit its newsmen. The U.S. refused.

The Communists then denied the 24 reporters entry because the terms laid down by Dulles were "completely unacceptable."

It may well have been, as Beech wrote from Hong Kong, that the Chinese would have found some other excuse. But the reporters believed the Dulles statement was "deliberately and provocatively contrived to leave the Reds no choice but to refuse."

• • •

DEFENDING his stand, Dulles said: "We wanted to obviate any claim by the Chinese Communists that they would be entitled as a right to send a corresponding number" of newsmen to the United States. "That we could not do under the law."

And there the matter lies—officially. Only one further overture was ever made. The State Department disclosed 19 months ago that it had rejected Red Chinese offers, made at the Warsaw Conference, to admit U.S. newsmen in return for a U.S. pledge to withdraw its troops from Formosa.

But the issue didn't die for William Worthy. Even with his passport expired, he went to Hungary as a representative of the Baltimore paper and The New York Post, and last year went to Cuba.

Reporter Worthy
Returning from China

Though he appeared at a Fair Play for Cuba rally a year ago in Denver, he has never been seriously accused of being a Communist, or of anything more serious than determination to travel and the State Department be damned.

Now Worthy will be tried for a federal crime. The odds are that if he loses, his case will go all the way to the Supreme Court, which has yet to make a ruling on this issue.

The real tragedy in the case, though, is not that Worthy is in trouble, or even that the First Amendment is being subjected to a foreign policy which is itself often accused of expediency. The First Amendment is strong enough to survive.

The real tragedy is that the United States officially has its eyes closed. Because we do not recognize the existence of Red China, we do not allow our newspapers to recognize it. Yet Red China,

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Obviously, newsmen good enough to be sent to Red China did not have to be told how to report a story by the secretary of state. They were also aware that some risk was involved. The point of the Dulles statement was obviously to get himself off the hook for his embargo on travel, and to put the blame on the Communists.

He couldn't have done better. Peiping, which had never suggested sending reporters to this country, pounced on the issue. Within 48 hours it had asked the U.S. to admit its newsmen. The U.S. refused.

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Returning from China

Though he appeared at a Fair Play for Cuba rally a year ago in Denver, he has never been seriously accused of being a Communist, or of anything more serious than determination to travel and the State Department be damned.

Now Worthy will be tried for a federal crime. The odds are that if he loses, his case will go all the way to the Supreme Court, which has yet to make a ruling on this issue.

The real tragedy in the case, though, is not that Worthy is in trouble, or even that the First Amendment is being subjected to a foreign policy which is itself often accused of expediency. The First Amendment is strong enough to survive.

The real tragedy is that the United States officially has its eyes closed. Because we do not recognize the existence of Red China, we do not allow our newspapers to recognize it. Yet Red China, with its 600 million people, its potential for nuclear warfare, its conflict with Russia unresolved, does exist and does affect the lives of all of us. We just pretend it doesn't.

Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy
Suite 301, 217 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

August 24, 1962

Some time in September William Worthy, correspondent for the BALTIMORE AFRO-AMERICAN, must return to U. S. District Court in Miami, Florida to face a sentence of up to five years in prison, a fine of $5,000, or both, for the unprecedented "crime" of coming home to his native land without a passport. He was convicted in a two-hour trial on August 8.

Both before sentencing and during the protracted appeals, the Negro community must let President Kennedy know that this unwarranted prosecution places a serious blot upon the civil rights record of his Administration. The attack on Mr. Worthy is an attack on all of us. Consequently, we must react, individually and collectively, with uncompromising force and vigor. If this conviction should stand, any of us could tomorrow be denied the right to visit Africa, Asia or Latin America to see for ourselves what is happening, and to return home and tell our neighbors what we learned. Even the Negro clergy could be forbidden to travel abroad on church business.

Let there be no mistake. This is a vindictive and discriminatory prosecution, stemming directly from Mr. Worthy's dispatches to his newspaper. We must look for justice in this case to the White House and the Department of Justice.

I believe it is the special responsibility of the Negro press to take up the cudgels for Mr. Worthy to vindicate his constitutional right to re-enter his own country without a passport. We must explain the First Amendment issues to the public and keep abreast of every development in this important case.

Those of your readers interested in supporting Mr. Worthy's defense may protest directly, by letter and telegram, to President Kennedy, and also to their senators and congressmen. In addition, petitions which are addressed to the President are available from the Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy, Suite 301, 217 West 125th Street, New York 27, N.Y. Contributions, large and small, to help fight this case are welcome. On each petition there is space for the signatures of 25 Negro citizens. Who among us, young or old, cannot get at least one petition signed in the cause of human freedom?

Very truly yours,

A Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH **GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE** B-W 1963

Baldwin

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

OCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

ST ALBANS =NY 23 230A EDT
'WUA079 BC033 =LONG N CGA073 (SYJAA039) DL PD VIA CG

=A PHILLIP RANDOLPH
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

WE THE MEMBERS OF THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS FOR MUSTICE, HELD =A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE BIRMINGHAM VICTIMS ON FRIDAY NIGHT, =AND SUBMITTED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION WHICH WAS APPROVED BY =THE 1,000 IN ATTENDANCE. QUOTE " IN ORDER TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THIS NATION TO = =IGNORE OR FORGET THE DEATH OF THESE SIX CHILDREN. WE WILL NOT =DO ANY CHRISTMAS SHOPPING THIS YEAR, AND WE CALL UPON =THE NATION TO JOIN WITH US IN THIS ACTION. IT IS OUR FIRM CONVICTION =THAT THIS ACTION WILL NOT ONLY SHCOK THE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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NATION INTO REMEMBERING =WHAT HAPPENED IN BIRMINGHAM. BUT IT WILL AWAKEN THE FINANCIAL =COMMUNITY TO THE FACT THAT THEY MUST SPEAK OUT ==ON THE EVILS OF SEGREGATIONS AND DISCRIMINATION WHICH =PRODUCED THE RAGIC DEATH OF THESE CHILDREN," UNQUOTE = WE SUBMIT THIS PROPOSAL FOR YOUR IMMEDIATE ENDORSEMENT WITH =THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BE INCLUDED IN YOUR ORGANIZATION'S =PROGRAM OF ACTION. WE AWAIT YOUR IMMEDIATE RESPONSE. PLEASE =ADDRESS REPLY TO LOUIS E LOMAX 114-83 179 ST ST ALBANS NY = THE WRITERS AND ARTISTS FOR JUSTICE =

JAMES BALDWIN JOHN KILLENS RUBY DEE
LOUIS LOMAX

=944A EDT SEP 25 63

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= OCT 26 1963=

AL BILIK= PRESIDENT=
CINCINNATI AFL-CIO=
1015 VINE STREET= CINCINNATI OHIO=

GREETINGS, FELICITATIONS AND CONGRATULATIONS TO THE LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS IN THE CINCINNATI MARCH AND VOTE FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM= WE ARE PROUD AND UPLIFTED TO KNOW THAT OUR CINCINNATI BROTHERS AND SISTERS, BLACK AND WHITE, JEW AND GENTILE, CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT, LABOR AND BUSINESS, ARE FAITHFULLY CARRYING OUT THE PLEDGE WHICH WAS PROCLAIMED AUGUST TWENTY-EIGHTH IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL AT THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL MONUMENT WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS GAVE WITNESS OF COMMITMENT TO THE MORAL PRINCIPLE OF HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL MEN=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

FOUNDED IN 1893

941 East Seventeenth Avenue
Denver 18, Colorado • 534-7211

JOHN CLARK, PRESIDENT
ASBURY HOWARD, VICE-PRESIDENT
A. C. SKINNER, VICE-PRESIDENT
IRVING DICHTER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

March 7, 1963

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

The 58th Convention of our International Union will meet at the Cosmopolitan Hotel in Denver during the week of March 18. This convention will be an important milestone in the history of our union marking our 70th anniversary.

I know our convention delegates would be pleased to receive a message of greeting from you on that occasion. Messages can be sent to our office or to the Cosmopolitan Hotel during the convention week.

Sincerely and fraternally,

John Clark

John Clark
President

JC/va

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO HOSPITAL WORKERS
217 West 125 Street, New York 27, N. Y.

March 14, 1963

(For publication)

To the Editor:

In Albany within the next few days, perhaps hours, the State Legislature will consider a bill which for the first time would give to thousands of workers in our voluntary hospitals elementary rights long overdue them, and at the same time remove the threat of strikes at hospitals which hangs over our city. The proposed legislation, sponsored by Governor Rockefeller, would provide guarantees of secret ballot elections in which hospital workers can choose or reject a union, and assure collective bargaining when a union is chosen. Where differences cannot be resolved in negotiations, mediation and then binding arbitration is provided.

This formula was proposed by Governor Rockefeller last summer as a solution to the impossible situation which prevailed then and still prevails: namely, the fact that workers in voluntary hospitals, employed at wages so low that they often require welfare assistance to get along, are at the same time denied the right to organize into a union and bargain collectively with their management to gain improvements in their wages. The State Labor Law specifically exempts voluntary hospitals from its provisions.

It is a cruel fact that by far the bulk of these workers are Negro and Puerto Rican, at the low end of our economic totem pole. When groups of hospital workersstruck in desperation in 1959, and again in 1962, the Negro and Puerto Rican communities rallied to their support. All of us were gratified at the solution worked out by the Governor. We looked forward with great expectations to the passage by the State Legislature of the bill sponsored by the Governor.

But at this moment a new and alarming obstacle to the law's passage has arisen. The State Federation of Labor has registered opposition to the proposed law, on the grounds that it would prohibit strikes at hospitals, and therefore deprive hospital workers of rights that other workers possess.

This is indeed an ironic twist in the long and bitter campaign of these workers for a share of the good things in life - that a labor body would oppose them and frustrate them on the eve of their deliverance, with the argument that the proposed law would deprive them of rights! Hospital workers do not now have the "right" to strike. Hospital strikes have always been enjoined by the courts in the past. Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, spent 30 days in jail last summer for leading a strike at a Brooklyn hospital.

What rights would be lost by hospital workers under this law? Hospital workers have struck only as last desperate steps when collective bargaining and arbitration were refused by a callous management. They recognize that their places of work are institutions caring for the sick, and that strikes should not be a means of resolving differences in these institutions provided there is another, equitable way to resolve differences.

The proposed law would provide this equitable alternative.

Hospital workers would gain enormously if this law were passed not lose. They would vote in secret ballot elections for the union of their choice and then engage in collective bargaining to set the terms of their labor. When agreement cannot be reached, an impartial arbitrator would decide the issues. Now that a bill is under consideration that would provide justice they are quite willing to surrender the strike weapon. Will a labor body prevent this and be the instrument for continuing the deprivation and mistreatment of these workers?

Certainly the public and particularly members of the Negro and Puerto Rican communities, have a right to expect that the State Federation of Labor will help rather than hinder these workers. Unfortunately, we must interpret its opposition as directed against the united campaign of our communities to secure passage of this legislation in this session.

We trust that legislators of both parties will live up to their previous commitments and vote for this bill on a bipartisan basis. The alternative could only be another outbreak of bitter labor strife in our voluntary hospitals.

Sincerely yours

Co-Chairman
Committee for Justice to Hospital Workers

Co-Chairman

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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SF-1201 (4-60)

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NE155 (29)PA138

CTB029 CT LLA92 NL PD CINCINNATI OHIO 24

1963 OCT 25 AM 3 34

GP

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRES NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
ROOM 301 217 WEST 125 ST NYK

MARCH IN CINCINNATI TITLED - MARCH AND VOTE FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM SCHEDULED SUNDAY OCTOBER 27TH AT 130PM MARCH ENDORSED BY 118 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL FAITHS, LABOR, FRATERNAL, CIVIC, SOCIAL, AND CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. THE MARCH HAS BEEN ORGANIZED ALONG THE LINES OF THE WASHINGTON MARCH. WE WOULD APPRECIATE A TELEGRAM FROM YOU TO BE READ AS PART OF THE PROGRAM BEING HELD AT FOUNTAIN SQUARE.

YOURS IN FREEDOM

BISHOP W E CRUMES CHAIRMAN COCHAIRMAN RBBI ALBERT A GOLDMAN BOARD OF RABBIS WILLIAM F BOWMAN NAACP FATHER AUGUST J KNIEPP CATHOLIC INTER RACIAL COUNCIL REV ROBT BECK COMMISSION ON RACE AND RELIGION WILLIAM L KIRCHER AFL-CIO CLYDE W VINEGAR CORE.

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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WUZ088 WUA142 RFR-NC044 =(SY SIB610) NL PD SI NEW YORK NY
= =1020A EDT SEP 17 63 =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT
=BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS =
312 WEST 125 ST NYK =

=ON BEHALF OF 16,800 MEMBERS OF OUR UNION, I HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED =TO SEND TELEGRAMS TO LEADERS OF LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS AND COMMUNITY =ORGANIZATIONS URGING AN IMMEDIATE CONFERENCE TO MAKE PLANS =NOR A PROTEST STOPPAGE IN THIS CITY DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE DISPATCHING OF FEDERAL TROOPS TO BIRMINGHAM, ARREST OF GOVERNOR

, AND SENDING OF DELEGATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS =TO THAT CITY TO OVERSEE THE PROTECTION OF NEGRO CITIZENS. =OUR UNION IS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN SUCH A PROGRAM =TO PERMIT NEW YORKERS OF ALL RACES, COLORS, , AND CREEDS TO DEMONSTRATE =THEIR SYMPATHY AND SOLIDARITY WITH THE VICTIMS OF RACIST BARBARISM =AND GIVE CONCRETE EXPRESSION TO THEIR DETERMINATION TO END =DISCRIMINATION EVERYWHERE NOW. =COPY TO: BAYARD RUSTIN MARCH ON WASHINGTON COMM - HARRY VAN ARSDALE PRES NYC CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL - WHITNEY M YOUNG EXECUTIVE =DIR NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE - ROY WILKINS NATL SECY NAACP - JAMES =FARMER

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TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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NATL DIR CORE =

LEON J DAVIS PRESIDENT LOCAL 1199
DRUG AND HOSPITAL EMPLOYEES UNION AFL CIO. :

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

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GPA075 SYC473 =

SY GCY023 GCZ1 GCZ1 LONG PD GC NEW YORK NY 13 NFT =

=A PHILIP RANDOLPH =

1963 JUN 13 PM 3 10

217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

MEDGAR EVERS' FUNERAL JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI SATURDAY, JUNE
=15 AT 11 AM JACKSON TIME, MASONIC TEMPLE AUDITORIUM,
1072 LYNCH =STREET. WIDOW REQUESTS NO FLOWERS, BUT
CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASSOCIATION =INSTEAD. MESSAGES MAY BE
SENT CARE NAACP OFFICE AT LYNCH STREET =ADDRESS. GOOD
ATTENDANCE BY NATIONAL OFFICIALS WILL BE DESERVED =
TRIBUTE TO MEDGAR AND NOTICE TO NATION OF OUR
DETERMINATION. =IF YOU CAN ATTEND PLEASE NOTIFY US HERE

END 1=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= JUNE 14 1963=

MRS MEDGAR EVERS=
C/O NAACP= 1072 LYNCH STREET=
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI=

PLEASE ACCEPT MY HEARTFELT CONDOLENCES AND DEEPEST SYMPATHY UPON THE BRUTAL AND BARBARIC MURDER OF YOUR DEAR HUSBAND, WHO WAS A GREAT AMERICAN, A GREAT MAN, AND A DEDICATED LEADER OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION UNDER THE BANNER OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE== MAY YOU BE SUSTAINED IN THIS HOUR OF SORROW BY REALIZATION OF THE FACT THAT HE FOUGHT A GOOD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

FIGHT AND KEPT THE FAITH== HIS SPIRIT WILL EVER LIVE AS A SYMBOL OF COURAGE AND CONSECRATION TO THE CAUSE OF RACIAL EQUALITY , FREEDOM AND JUSTICE=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH= PRESIDENT=
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=
= 217 WEST 125 ST= NYK

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27. N. Y.

February 6, 1963

Mr. and Mrs. A. Philip Randolph 32

regret that because of Mrs. Randolph's illness 46

they are unable to accept 25

reception
The President's kind invitation to a luncheon 46

on the occasion of the 24

Centennial of the 17

Emancipation Proclamation 25

on Tuesday the twelfth of February 34

he President and Mrs. Kennedy
equest the pleasure of the company of
Dr. and Mrs. Randolph
at a reception to be held at
The White House
Tuesday evening, February 12, 1963
from 6:00 to 7:00 o'clock

On the occasion of the

Centennial of the

Emancipation Proclamation

U

EAST ENTRANCE

Dr and Mrs A Phillip Randolph
will please present this card at
The White House
February 12, 1963
at 6 o'clock

NOT TRANSFERABLE

TELEGRAM SENT NOVEMBER 27, 1963

Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
President, United States of America
White House
Washington, D. C.

In the name of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, I extend to you our sincere expression of support in these trying times. We have every confidence that you will measure up to the enormous responsibilities that have been thrust upon you, and we pray that under your leadership the country will continue to move forward toward the goals of peace, equality and prosperity to which our Late President was dedicated. Congratulations upon your great maiden speech to the Congress - more power to you.

(Signed) A. Philip Randolph

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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= RFR 1= CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= SEPT 16 1963=

THE PRESIDENT=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
= WASHINGTON D C =

IN THE NAME OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL, THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF WHICH ARE DEEPLY AROUSED AND ANGERED OVER THE SHAMEFUL BOMBING OF THE 16TH UTREET BAPTIST CHURCH IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, I URGE AND REQUEST YOU TO SEND FEDERAL TROOPS INTO THIS CITY TO PROTECT LIFE AND PROPERTY OF NEGRO CITIZENS BECAUSE OF BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER SHOWN BY INCREDIBLE EXHIBITION OF LAWLESSNESS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

INCITED BY INTEMPERATE RACIST PROPAGANDA OF GOV GEORGE C WALLACE AND FOSTERED BY POLICE BRUTALITY==

IF THIS OUTRAGEOUS ACTION IS NOT MET BY FIRM, RELENTLESS PURSUIT AND PUNISHMENT OF CULPRITS, WITH ADEQUATE FEDERAL PROTECTION OF CITIZENS OF COLOR IN BIRMINGHAM THEY MAY RENOUNCE AND REJECT POLICY OF NONVIOLENCE AND SEEK SELF-PROTECTION THROUGH VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION WHICH CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS WOULD DEPLORE==

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=
217 W 125 STREET NYC=

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= NOV 22 1963=

MRS JOHN KENNEDY=
THE WHITE HOUSE= WASHINGTON D C =

THE COMMITTEE OF TEN OF THE MARCH ON WASHINFGTON MOVEMENT, THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS AND THE NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL EXTEND CONDOLENCES AND DEEPEST SYMPATHY UPON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY - A SHOCKING TRAGEDY WHICH RESULTS IN THE LOSS OF A GREAT HUMANITARIAN, CHAMPION OF HUMAN LIBERTY, AND SOCIAL AND RACIAL JUSTICE== ALL PEOPLES EVERYWHERE WHO LOVE DECENCY, HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM WILL MOURN HIS PASSING AS THE WORLD PASSES THROUGH THIS HOUR OF TRIAL

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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BY FIRE= THE NEGROES AND ALL MINORITIES, AS WELL AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND PEOPLE OF COLOR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE LOST A GREAT FRIEND=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=:

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 22, 1963 - 3:55 P.M.

Mrs. John Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

The Committee of Ten of the March on Washington movement, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the Negro American Labor Council extend condolences and deepest sympathy upon the assassination of President Kennedy - a shocking tragedy which results in the loss of a great humanitarian, champion of human liberty and social and racial justice. All Peoples everywhere who love decency, human dignity and freedom will mourn his passing through this hour of trial by fire. The Negroes and all monorities, as well as the American people and people of color throughout the world have lost a great friend.

A. Philip Randolph

PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY, 1917-1963

(President Kennedy delivered the following radio and television address to the Nation on June 11, 1963)

Good evening my fellow citizens.

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama. That order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happened to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama, who met their responsibility in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents. This Nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free, and when Americans are sent to Viet-Nam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops.

It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section of the Nation in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing a high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day, one-third as much chance of completing college, one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man, twice as much chance of becoming unemployed, about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year, a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every State of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety. Nor is this a partisan issue in a time of domestic crisis. Men of good will and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics. This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level, but law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public schools available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?

100 years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice. They are not yet freed from social and economic oppression, and this Nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home, but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettoes, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

Now the time has come for this Nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or State or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threatens lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your State and local legislative body, and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore the fact that we face. A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all.

Those who do nothing are inviting shame as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right as well as reality.

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The Federal Judiciary has upheld that proposition in a series of forthright cases. The Executive Branch has adopted that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including employment of Federal personnel, the use of Federal facilities, and the sale of Federally financed housing.

But there are other necessary measures which only the Congress can provide, and they must be provided at this session. The old code of equity law under which we live commands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens as there are no remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is in the street.

I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public — hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores and similar establishments.

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination and I have been encouraged by their response, and in the last two weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities. But many are unwilling to act alone, and for this reason, nationwide legislation is needed if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I am also asking Congress to authorize the Federal Government to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence. Today a Negro is attending a State-supported institution in every one of our 50 States, but the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court's decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored. The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job.

The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision, therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry the legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will be also requested, including greater protection for the right to vote. But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens North and South who have been working in their communities to make life better for all. They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty, but out of a sense of human decency.

Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line, and I salute them for their honor and their courage.

My fellow Americans, this is a problem which faces us all — in every city of the North as well as the South. Today there are Negroes unemployed two or three times as many compared to whites, inadequate in education, moving into the large cities, unable to find work, young people particularly out of work without hope, denied equal rights, denied the opportunity to eat at a restaurant or lunch counter or go to a movie theater, denied the right to a decent education, denied almost today the right to attend a State university even though qualified. It seems to me that these are matters which concern us all, not merely Presidents or Congressmen or Governors, but every citizen of the United States.

This is one country. It has become one country because all of us and all the people who came here had an equal chance to develop their talents.

We cannot say to ten percent of the population that you can't have that right; that your children can't have the chance to develop whatever talents they have; that the only way that they are going to get their rights is to go into the streets and demonstrate. I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that.

Therefore, I am asking for your help in making it easier for us to move ahead and to provide the kind of equality of treatment which we would want ourselves; to give a chance for every child to be educated to the limit of his talents.

As I have said before, not every child has an equal talent or an equal ability or an equal motivation, but they should have the equal right to develop their talent and their ability and their motivation to make something of themselves.

We have a right to expect that the Negro community will be responsible, will uphold the law, but they have a right to expect that the law will be fair; that the Constitution will be color blind, as Justice Harlan said at the turn of the century.

This is what we are talking about and this is a matter which concerns this country and what it stands for, and in meeting it I ask the support of all of our citizens.

Thank you very much.

"No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long."

— President Lyndon B. Johnson,
in address to a joint session of
Congress, November 27, 1963

WRITE YOUR SENATORS TODAY — urge them, in memory of President Kennedy, to work for the passage of the civil rights bill, without dilution and without delay.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
332 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

March, 1963

Dear Friend:

I want to tell you about the secret weapon that may win the battle for human dignity in the South.

The secret weapon is known. It has been forged by blood, and courage, and the natural aspiration of man for human dignity. Its force is awesome. It is the oldest democratic institution in America. It is the secret ballot.

We, in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which I am privileged to serve as President, have long recognized the secret ballot as the strongest force for the establishment of civil rights and civil liberties in the South. Today, it is the spearhead of the non-violent protest of the Negro people.

Sit-ins and freedom rides have been effective towards laying a foundation for our intensive effort to achieve universal adult suffrage in the South. The growing Negro vote, reflecting the continuing Voter Registration Drive of the S.C.L.C., has struck home! Fissures are widening in the once solid walls of segregation, despite the terror, violence and threats of the die-hard segregationists.

More than 40,000 Negro voters were added to the registration roles last year. S. C. L. C. now has full time field secretaries in eight southern states and our Leadership Training Program alone trained more than 2,000 grass-roots leaders last year. We, in the South, are on the threshhold of a major break-through in democratic advancement.

You will note, at the top of this letter, I say we "may" win. Why "may"? Though we have the courage, dedication and capacity in our ranks, we are desperately short of funds for a mass Voter Registration Drive throughout the South ... for programs to prepare citizens for their "literacy" tests ... for expenses of court trials ... to provide some relief for families of those who have have been jailed.

Whatever financial assistance you gave us last year was indispensable to the progress of our work. At this critical stage, we are counting on your 1963 contribution to help maintain a vital momentum of success. In this Centennial Year of emancipation, when you write your check, you write history. Use the envelope enclosed to speed your support to the front where your dollars are reinforcements in this struggle for freedom. Help assure victory for human dignity, and for the proud integrity of a truly democratic America. Please mail the envelope today.

Cordially,

Martin Luther King Jr.

REC
OFFICE
MAR
196

Please make checks payable to
S. C. L. C.

Postage
Will be Paid
by
Addressee

No
Postage Stamp
Necessary
If Mailed in the
United States

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
First Class Permit No. 3135, Atlanta, Ga.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
S. C. L. C.
332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

N 63

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

M GAWU RFR 1 CHG NEGRO AMER LABOR COUNCIL= APRIL 19 1963:

= REV MARTIN L KING JR=
SOUTHSIDE COUNTY JAIL=
BIRMINGHAM ALA=

BE ASSURED THAT YOUR FRIENDS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE PRAYING FOR YOU AND YOUR IMPRISONED ASSOCIATES TO WIN THE FFIGHT FOR JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND FREEDOM FOR ALL MEN, REGARDLESS OF RACE OR COLOR== WE ARE PRAYING FOR YOUR SECURITY AND THAT NO HARM SHALL COME TO YOU AND YOUR ASSOCIATES=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH==

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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RFR 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= DEC 30 1963=

REV MARTIN LUTHER KING JR=
563 JOHNSON AVENUE N E= ATLANTA GA=

CONGRATULATIONS UPON BEING NAMED BY TIME MAGAZINE AS MAN OF THE YEAR= YOU RICHLY DESERVE THIS HONOR FOR YOUR STATESMANSHIP IN RACE RELATIONS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION= HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU AND YOUR FAMILY=

CORDIALLY,
A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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GPA122 GP-

NE284 =PD NEW YORK NY 16 615P EDT =

1963 SEP 16 PM 7 10

=A PHILLIP RANDOLPH, AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

:GENTLEMEN ON FRIDAY 10AM PRESIDENT KENNEDY WILL ADDRESS THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN VIEW OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BIRMINGHAM ALABAMA IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE AFRICAN STATES TO ALLOW THE UNITED NATIONS TO OVERLOOK THE SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND BRUTALITY DIRECTED AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT IN AMERICA WE URGE YOU AND YOUR MEMBERS OF AFRICAN DESCENT TO JOIN US IN A MARCH ON THE UNITED NATIONS AT THE UN 10AM FRIDAY MORNING SEPTEMBER 20

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

TO LET THE AFRICAN ASIAN GROUP :KNOW THAT THE BLACK MAN IN AMERICA NEEDS THEIR HELP NOW

PS :REQUEST YOU OR YOUR REPRESENTATIVE MEET WITH ME THURSDAY MORNING :10AM HOTEL THERESA =

AFRICAN NATIONALIST FEDERATED COUNCIL
2090 7 AVE DAYTON 9-8954 =========
:JAMES R LAWSON CHAIRMAN OF DEMONSTRATION. =

RECEIVED
SEP 17 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 3, 1963

Mr. George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brother Meany:

Dr. Martin Luther King and his co-workers, whose backs are now against the wall face to face with racism in all of its ugly and violent manifestations, seek the help of the strong hand of labor.

To this end, he desires that you arrange a conference at a mutually convenient time for discussion of ways and means labor may help advance the cause of civil rights in the South, in cooperation with the Negro masses.

His address is 404 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Telephone Jackson 2-4596.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

Cleveland Robinson
National Vice President

Same to W. Reuther

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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WUE155 RA251 = R WWY040 WWZ7 WWZ007 GOVT RX PD

THE WHITE HOUSE WUX WASHINGTON =DC 19 NFT :

= A PHILLIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT :
= BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 WEST 125 ST RM 301 =NYK =

AT TEN THIRTY AM ON SATURDAY, JUNE 22, THE PRESIDENT IS MEETING =WITH A GROUP OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND WOULD BE PLEASED TO =HAVE YOU ATTEND. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU WILL BE PRESENT =

KENNETH ODONNELL.

328P EDT JUN 19 63

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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1963 AUG 7 PM 3 00

GPA084 BA521

=N NJA040 LONG PD NJ NEW YORK NY 7 150P EDT

=A PHILIP RANDLPH, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL =
217WEST 125 ST NYK =

=TEAMSTERS JOINT COUNCIL NO. 16 URGES YOUR PARTICIPATION
INCAMPAIGN TO SECURE IMMEDIATE SPECIAL SESSION FOR
PURPOSE OF ENACTING STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
AUTHORITY TO COMMENCE ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE ALLEGED (X
DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING. THIS UNION CORDIALLY INVITES
YOU TO ASSOCIATE YOURSELF AND YOUR ORGANIZATION WITH I
FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TODAY TO GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER THIS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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MORNING. QUOTE RESPECTFULLY URGE IMMEDIATE SPECIAL SESSION TO ENACT STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AUTHORITY TO COMMENCE ON ITS OWN INITIATIVE INVESTIGATIONS OF ALLEGED DISCRININATION IN HIRING. INSINUATIONS OF WIDESPREAD DISCRIMINATION IN WHITE COLLAR AREA MADE ON C B S NEWSMAKERS PROGRAM BY RICH ARD C SACHS MAKES IMPERATIVE ENACTMENT OF THIS LEGISLATION NOW UNQUOTE. IDENTICAL INVITATIONS BEING EXTENDED TO FARMER, WILKINS AND YOUNG =

JOHN O'ROURK

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PUBLICITY ADVERTISING RESEARCH PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN
AND
ASSOCIATES
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELLORS

KENWOOD 6-1240
409 E. OAKWOOD BLVD.
CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS

Feb. 17, 1963

Dear Boy: Dr. Chavis, a friend of mine and a great admirer of yours, has just called me to say he saw in some paper that you blacked out while speaking somewhere.

I'm wondering if you should not take at least a short rest. How is Lucille?

Suppose you dissolve 2 heaping teaspoons of Epsom salts in hot water, then add the juice of a whole lemon, cool to taste and drink it all. You'll get a complete cleansing in a few hours. This will help your whole system.

Next month I'll be that way. Take care of yourself as the flu is raging. Regards to Bourne.

Sincerely yours,

Chandler

RECEIVED
FEB 1 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

PUBLICITY ADVERTISING RESEARCH PROGRAMS

**CHANDLER OWEN
AND
ASSOCIATES**
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELLORS

KENWOOD 6-1240
409 E. OAKWOOD BLVD.
CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS

April 16, 1963

Dear Randolph: I see from the Defender that Lucille has passed and I want to extend my sincere and deep sympathies. It had not occurred to me that you had been married 50 years — 1913 to 1963.

You must feel a great satisfaction knowing that you stuck by her all through her long convalescence. I think those of us who became friends in those days were more constant and enduring in our friendships, for instance, you and I.

May you bear up with fortitude and courage.

How is your own health? After a few weeks I hope we can spend a few hours together.

Always your steadfast friend,

Chandler

PUBLICITY ADVERTISING RESEARCH PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN
AND
ASSOCIATES
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELLORS

KENWOOD 6-1240
409 E. OAKWOOD BLVD.
CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS

Nov. 19, 1963

Dear Boy: I just returned from Abe Harris' funeral.

Read this article in Chi. Trib and congratulate you. How is your health.

Here's best wishes from

Your old pal,

Chandler

Your March on Washington was a classic. As I write you, I see it is the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

J. W. PARKER, M. D.
175 SHREWSBURY AVENUE
RED BANK, N. J.

Sept. 9th 1963.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
*217-W. 125th St.
N.Y. N.Y.

(102-0100

Dear Asa—

During our routine visits in Red Bank N.J. we often think back to days at Cookman Institute in Jacksonville Fla. Those of us who were fortunate to have come under the angelic influence of Miss Lilly Whitney and Miss Mary Neff have much for which to be thankful—

We often mention your brother James and you, and how each was regarded. You with your quiet studiousness, your resonant voice, and last but not least the way you handled the catching position on the baseball team.

At this present visit we have greater achievements of yours to discuss. The early reports of the success of your Washington Demonstration and the subsequent glowing comments in the press on your leadership gave us much of which to be proud. We both expressed the wish that Miss Lilly & Miss Neff could have been here to witness the work you have wrought— Congratulations! Best wishes for continued good health— From two Cookman boys

Arthur Garvin &
James

November 5, 1963

Dr. James W. Parker
175 Shrewsbury Avenue
Red Bank, New Jersey

Dear James:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my delight to hear from you.

Well do I recall the days of Miss Lilly Whitney and Miss Mary Neff, two of the finest teachers who ever lived; teachers dedicated to the art and science of imparting knowledge for the well-being and advancement of human beings and, especially, Negroes. The history of New England schoolmarms who came South during the War is yet to be written. I hope some day some brilliant young Negro will undertake this task. I also remember our efforts at baseball.

Well, I have been trying to help awaken black and white America to the problem of Negro freedom. The March on Washington Movement did turn out to be quite an event. It was the result of the hard work of a lot of people - I was just one of them, serving as the chairman. But the real work was done by people like Bayard Rustin, Norman Hill, Cleveland Robinson, Dr. John Morsell, and a host of others, Negro and white.

I am very glad to hear from you and Arthur Garvin.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

March 20, 1963

A. Philip Randolph
Sleeping Car Porters
217 W.125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

On the chance that the Department of Justice didn'twrite directly to you, I enclose a copy of the letter which I got in regard to the Mine, Mill and Smelters Union. Somehow I get a feeling that, despite its long argument, the Department would be glad not to prosecute except for fear of conservative pressure outside. Do you share that feeling on reading this letter?

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:S

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 13, 1963 to the Attorney General which has been referred to this Division for consideration and reply.

Fourteen officers and former officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers were brought to trial in the Federal District Court, Denver, Colorado, on an indictment charging conspiracy to defraud the Government of the United States in the unlawful use of the facilities and services of the National Labor Relations Board by filing false non-Communist affidavits with the Board. Three of the defendants entered pleas of *nolo contendere*, two were acquitted on a directed verdict and on December 17, 1959, nine were convicted. The Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit reversed the convictions on March 5, 1962 with instructions to dismiss the indictment against two of the nine defendants and to grant a new trial to the remaining seven. On April 11, 1962 the Court of Appeals denied the Government's petition for rehearing. No date has been set for the retrial of this case.

The Court of Appeals reversed the convictions of seven defendants solely on a principle of conspiracy law concerning the admissibility of a single item of evidence. The Court indicated that not only was the indictment under which the defendants were charged sufficient, but that there was sufficient competent evidence adduced for the jury to have found these defendants guilty of conspiracy to defraud the Government by means of filing false affidavits. The Court stated:

> But even in the absence of Lautner's (incompetent) testimony, the statements made by appellants Travis and Wilson relative to a change in Party policy; the record proof that appellants, as Party members, subjected themselves to Party discipline; the evidence that a "Steering Committee", of which some of the appellants were members, transmitted "The Communist Party program, decisions to the Union * * *" for implementation; appellants' common knowledge of the problems presented by the Taft-Hartley Act; and the common bonds existing between appellants as members of the Communist Party and as officers and employees of Mine-Mill -- furnish competent evidence which, viewed in the light most favorable to the Government, authorized the jury's finding that the filing of the false affidavits was the agreed means of perpetuating Communist influence in Mine-Mill, and not a series of unrelated and coincidental acts.

The Court further stated:

> Since, as we have noted, the prejudicial quality of the Lautner testimony requires reversal, it is necessary to treat only those of the remaining allegations of error arising from situations which, upon retrial, are likely to recur - -.

The Court of Appeals dismissed the indictment as to only two defendants and in apparent anticipation of a retrial of the other defendants proceeded to discuss questions that would be likely to occur on retrial. It is thus abundantly clear that the Court contemplated that the Government would continue this prosecution. The opinion of the Court of Appeals and the evidence against the defendants establish a violation of law and require a retrial in the proper discharge of this Department's functions and its responsibility to enforce the law.

On May 4, 1962 the Subversive Activities Control Board issued its Report and Order declaring the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers to be a Communist-infiltrated organization within the meaning of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as amended by the Communist Control Act of 1954.

This Order granted the petition of the Attorney General filed on July 28, 1955 alleging that the effective management of this union is dominated and controlled, unknown by the majority of its members, by persons who are members of Communist organizations and that the Union has been used as a means of giving aid and support to Communist organizations, foreign Communist governments and the world Communist movement.

The Subversive Activities Control Act provides that the Order of the Board does not become final nor do the sanctions of the Act apply until all appellate review has been exhausted. When the Order becomes final the union cannot act as a bargaining representative of any employee before the National Labor Relations Board and must label its broadcasts and publications as being disseminated by a Communist organization.

The union filed a petition for a redetermination that it is no longer a Communist-infiltrated organization. The hearing on this petition began on January 21, 1963.

Sincerely,

J. WALTER YEAGLEY
Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

By:
ORAN H. WATERMAN
Chief, Civil Section

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

July 15, 1963

Dear Friend:

I enclose what perhaps should be called a statement rather than a petition in the hope that you will see your way clear to signing it. It would be circulated among those who certainly are not Communists but who believe in civil liberties and regard the present campaign against the Communist Party and alleged Communist fronts as more of an emulation of Communist totalitarianism than as an expression of a vigorous democracy.

The signers of the document, to which we invite your signature, are men who have had an opportunity to go over the document itself. As you will see, they represent various political points of view but are agreed in support of civil liberties. If you sign the document, or have any comment on it, please send it to me at 112 E.19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

Norman Thomas

NT:S

RECEIVED
JUL 16 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

426

As the worldwide contest on behalf of free institutions against communist totalitarianism continues, there remains in the United States only a very small group of people adhering to the Communist Party whose sympathies are with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the fears and emotions resulting from this contest have produced a set of repressive laws which raise a very real question whether our democratic society is strong and self-confident enough to deal with this domestic communist problem within the framework of our traditional freedoms and without resorting to governmental repression of mere ideas in violation of our basic tradition. We who sign this statement are Americans who believe that our society can and must deal with domestic communism without resorting to the totalitarian methods which we so strongly oppose.

The recent spread of the cold war to new areas undergoing rapid social and economic change has made us realize anew that one of our greatest assets is still the tradition of free expression and association with which communism is incompatible. But in the effort to enlist the allegiance of emerging peoples to freedom, we are burdened with a serious handicap, since in the recent hysteria over communism, we ourselves have undertaken to prohibit and penalize liberty of mere expression and advocacy. The past quarter-century has witnessed the enactment of laws penalizing speech rather than action - laws which, in the name of national security, have undermined the very freedoms they purported to protect.

In 1940 the Smith Act made criminal the mere teaching and advocacy of communism. In 1950 the McCarran Internal Security Act sought to prohibit and penalize mere membership in or association with communist-"action" or communist-"front" groups, while in 1954, the Congress, in the Communist Control Act, sought to "outlaw" the Communist Party as such.

As of July 1963, the Communist Party has been named a communist-action organization; twenty-three organizations have been ordered to register as communist-fronts (although a U.S.Court of Appeals has set aside the designation of two of these organizations); one union has been ordered to register as a communist-infiltrated organization; twenty-seven individuals have been ordered to register as members of the Communist Party; the Communist Party has been convicted and fined $120,000 for failing to register; two persons have been indicted for failing to register as officers of the Party; the State Department has ordered the revocation of the passports of two individuals for membership in the Party; one individual has recently been indicted for working in a defense facility while a member of the Communist Party; and every applicant for a passport must swear he is not a member of the Communist Party.

The continued existence of these laws dealing with mere expression and association as distinguished from subversive action leaves us open to the just charge of inconsistency and hypocrisy and profoundly impairs our ability to win other nations to the cause of freedom which we preach but do not fully practice. We believe the time has come for the repeal of these authoritarian and ineffective laws. More specifically, we assign the following reasons for such repeal.

First. The Smith Act of 1940 broke with our constitutional tradition by proposing to punish persons for the mere teaching and advocacy of unpopular doctrine. In succeeding years the courts have properly imposed constitutional restrictions upon the application of this Act, and, since virtually no further effort for its enforcement is now being made by the Department of Justice, it is appropriate that this law, so inconsistent with our free institutions, should be removed from our statutes.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 - passed over President Truman's veto - is similarly directed against the mere expression of ideas rather than against any overt subversive acts. The Government has for many years been seeking to enforce this Act against the Communist Party and a group of so-called "front" organizations. If successful, this enforcement effort would require various public disclosures by the organizations and their individual members. But it may be assumed with certainty that anyone who may be actually engaged in espionage or other illegal action will not be induced by this means to make public disclosure of that fact. In short, ideas and associations, as distinguished from any illegal actions, would, in practice, be the objects of repression and punishment.

Similarly, the Communist Control Act of 1954 which seeks to "outlaw" the Communist Party, has raised the gravest constitutional issues. There has never been any Federal effort to enforce this law and its net practical effect has been to strike the Communist Party from the election ballot in those few places where the Party has sought to run candidates. It is ironic that the only aspect of Communist Party operations which this Act has actually curtailed is its least objectionable activity of participating in the democratic process of free elections.

In short, none of these Acts dealing, as they all do, with the mere teaching and expression of communist doctrine provides protection against any true domestic threat to the United States. Against such a threat our best defense remains our counterespionage system and our traditional criminal sanctions against spying and sabotage. On the other hand, while the benefits from these laws are illusory, the dangers are real because, as President Truman said in vetoing the Internal Security Act. "We will destroy all that we seek to preserve if we sacrifice the liberties of our citizens in a misguided attempt to achieve national security."

Second. Not only does this legislation, in seeking to control and punish mere expression and advocacy of "subversive" ideas, fail to serve any practical need in the contest with communism, it also does definite harm to the self-respect of our people and to our standing as an international leader in this contest. The toleration of unpopular and even of hateful opinion is of the very essence of our tradition, and we repeat that the erosion of that principle exposes us to a just charge of inconsistency and hypocrisy. Along with our failure to provide equality of opportunity and equal justice for our Negro population, nothing so much down-grades our world reputation and influence as our failure to abide by our tradition of free expression.

It is a baseless insult to the patriotism of our people and to our constitutional tradition to outlaw political parties, associations and ideas, which in a freesociety should find their rejection in the public mind and not in the public jail.

It is doubtless true that the Communist Party has at times been and may be today not merely a political organization but also a source of recruiting for illegal action. To the extent, however, that individuals or organizations engage in criminal acts, the general law stands ready to punish them for those acts; while, to the extent that entire organizations and their members are virtually made outlaws in the community, forbidden even to advocate their ideas and doctrines, we have unnecessarily forsaken fundamental principles of liberty upon which our society is based.

Until the Congress repeals these laws, we call upon the President to exercise the greatest caution in their enforcement. A 5-4 Supreme Court ruling has upheld the requirement of the Internal Security Act of 1950 that the Communist Party must register with the Attorney General. But the prohibitions and penalties of that Act, the validity of which has not yet been tested in the courts, are so dangerous and constitutionally questionable that the Government should be slow to seek their imposition. The burdens imposed by this Act include fantastic penalties for nonregistration, the disallowance of tax deductions, the public stamping of mailings, the prohibition of government employment and of private employment on government work, denial of passports, identification of printing presses, and similar drastic provisions. Members of listed organizations are thus truly made "outlaws" in our society, and at the same time are prohibited from obtaining passports in order to leave it.

By these means the most grievous punishment is inflicted on persons who have not been convicted nor even accused of the commission of any crime. In the name of protecting ourselves from hearing communist doctrines which nearly all

Americans detest, we have thus fashioned a system more consistent with the dictatorship which we abhor than with the liberty we purport to love.

In accordance with the foregoing principles, the undersigned appeal:

To the President: To suspend future enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950 until the constitutionality of its several provisions is finally determined in the courts under litigation already in progress; and also to call for its Congressional repeal for the reasons so eloquently stated in President Truman's veto message;

To the Congress: To repeal the Smith Act, the Internal Security Act and the Communist Control Act;

To Citizens Throughout the Nation: To support a return to our tradition of free expression and association, whereby the good judgment of our people, rather than the censor and the jailhouse, provides the surest protection for our national ideals.

(Signed)

Ernest Angell
Thurman Arnold
Grenville Clark
Reinhold Niebuhr
Victor Reuther
Harold Riegelman
Norman Thomas
Howard S. Whiteside

A Philip Randolph

June 4, 1963

Dear Phil:

As always it was good seeing and having a chance to chat with you.

I am sure you are grateful for the busy days a head, all I ask, is that you dont let it take too much out of you. The problems are similar to the one in the early forties. This time I hope there will come legislation that will hold up from now on. Just heard on Radio that the President has issued an order against job discrimination maybe the thought of a March is arousing them to the fact that something really has to be done.

I have had several calls from old MOWM members who want to be counted in the October effort. One, Mrs Willie Hubbard, who had several dinners at her appartments in Que St, called and asked me to tell you how happy she will be to serve in any capacity. I'm sure you remember her. She was the one that was led to you in a vision, or something. She has a daughter who lives in Chicago.

I am glad you have not given up the idea of the book. This I am looking forward to with much more interest than you can imagine

Mom and Lou send love. They were disappointed not seeing you - but Lou says she is going to keep in touch about the "Rest Period".

Take care of yourself.

As ever, "Lil"

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

WUZ049 LONG WUA550 PD GC NEW YORK NY 26 NET
1012A EDT JUN 27 63 =:

= A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRES
= BD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

COORDINATED NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN OF UNPRECEDENTED MAGNITURE =ESSENTIAL TO ASSUME EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY TO ALL AMERICANS =AND TO SECURE PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION PROPOSED =BY THE PRESIDENT. EARNESTLY SOLICIT YOUR PARTICIPATION AND =SUPPORT. URGE YOUR ATTENDANCE AT MEETING WITH LEADERS OF OTHER =NATIONAL RELIGIOUS, CIVIC, BUSINESS" LABOR, PROFESSIONAL AND =FRATERNAL GROUPS TUESDAY, JULY SECOND, 2 PM TERRACE ROOM, HOTEL =ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK CITY. PLEASE WIRE REPLY TOGETHER WITH NAMES =OF

SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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OTHERS FROM YOUR ORGANIZATION WHO WILL ATTEND =

ROY WILKINS
20 WEST 40 ST =

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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RFR 2 CHG NALC= JUNE 27 1963=

ROY WILKINS=
NAACP=
20 WEST 40 ST= NYK=

CLEVELAND ROBINSON AND JOSEPH OVERTON OF NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL WILL ATTEND CONFERENCE JULY SECOND AT TWO PM=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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GPA075 SY RCY023/2

PROMPTLY TOGETHER WITH =TIME OF ARRIVAL IN JACKSON SO THAT TRANSPORTATION AND OVERNIGHT =STAY ARRANGEMENTS, IF NECESSARY, CAN BE MADE. FOR YOUR INFORMATION =ON PLANNING DEPARTURE SAME DAY, FUNERAL TIME ESTIMATED ONE =HOUR PLUS INTERMENT =

ROY WILKINS 20 WEST 40TH ST =

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1963
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

56 Greenwich Av
NYC 11
12/1/63

Dear Phillip:—

I dont hear much of Harlem down here— But if nothing has been started to do something in the way of a memorial from the Negroes in the U.S.A., I hope some of you in the lead will start a ball rolling—to get money from churches, lodges etc. Kennedy was certainly murdered by the rightist element in Dallas—I get so damned disgusted with this eternal refrain—accusing the Russians or Castro of this and that—I'm surprised they didnot manage to accuse pro-Castro people of bombing the Sunday School in Birmingham—I was in Mexico in October and met a Peruvian architect who had been in Havanna for the International Conference of architects—The first half was in Havanna and the second half in Mexico City—The man had known Cuba in Batista's days—He said Castro had done a terrific job in getting schools + hospitals going thruout the island and cleaned up Havanna—which he described in the days when wealthy Americans flocked there as a "cesspool of palatial whore houses and huge gambling dens in luxury hotels" - I'm sharing an apartment for the time being with a Danish American women from St. Paul, Minn. She has had field jobs all her life - traveling thruout the country & has friends & acquaintances just about everywhere - One of her friends from Dallas, Texas flew in here Monday. She said no one who was not on the inside (her husband is a wealthy business man in Dallas) could believe in the incredible hate - the "big shots" in Dallas have of the Civil Righters, Kennedy and the Administration. I had Thanksgiving Dinner with some New Zealand & English U.N.O. people - The English said there was something "phony" about the Dallas police - I don't know one thing about guns - but Grant said a gun expert said the "timing" between shots could not have possibly come from the type of rifle belonging to Oswald - evidently a psychotic - Well - if the doctors give me a half way clearance next week, I'm going to wipe the dirt of this "Christian Democracy" off my feet and go to St Croix - Virgin Islands to end my days next year -

If you do anything about a memorial given by Negroes - let me know and I'll be glad to send you a check for $100.00 as my small contribution - Sincerely

Kay

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

C-T

1964

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

May 1, 1964

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Randolph,

Enclosed in this letter are two documents on the operation now being conducted here in Mississippi to gain the right to vote for Negroes and the right to organize and peacefully assemble for all people.

Briefly, the documents give information on

1. COFO's organizing pattern:
   We are running Freedom Candidates in the Democratic Primary.
   We are setting up a Freedom Registration procedure by whcih anyone in the state can register to vote on our books.
   We are setting up meetings for those who are Freedom Registered which will select delegates to the National Democratic Convention who will challenge the seating of the regular party.

2. The state's response:
   Mississippi has just passed an anti-picketing ordinance which makes it illegal to picket public buildings.
   Our candidates have suffered harrassment and intimidation, and exclusion from the public electoral process.

I hope you will read the enclosed and then give careful consideration to the following proposals.

As you know, the struggle for the right to vote in Mississippi has largely been a struggle for the right to organize. In a few places some progress has been make: a picket line was maintained for several months in Hattiesburg, people in Canton were able to march to the courthouse without arrest, people in Greenwood were able to picket for a few days without arrest.

In order to focus the attention of local Negroes and the nation on the struggle here and the problems we've had, we carried out a series of Freedom Days in various cities. We found in the Hattiesburg Freedom Day situation that the presence of ministers whox came down under the auspices of the National

Council of Churches acted as a deterrant on the local officials. Certainly we could not have maintained our picket line there without their acting as an out of state buffer force between local officials and the movement. The presence of the National Council in the state, with their resources and knowledge has been most helpful to us. The local ministers and important members of the church heirarchy have contacts with the religious community whcih have helped mobilize pressure across the country against the state.

There has been a great deal of discussion of the necessity of a coalition between labor and civil rights to effect social change whcih would benefit both. However, it is sometimes difficult to demonstrate just what that means. Certainly the right to organize and to picket are concerns of the labor movement. There are specific ways in which you and others with influence in labor circles could help us. A few would be:

1. Come down to participate in the Freedom Vote --- observe the treatment of our poll watchers in the Democratic Primary (June 2); work with local staff on collecting Freedom Votes from people we have registered and who cannot vote in regular elections; travel to various cities where the campaign is running to give encouragement to local workers and gather information first hand which you can relay to the labor movement in the north on what we are doing; act as an observer at the counting of our Freedom Vote so that when we state in our argument for challenging convention delegates that we represent a given number of Mississippi citizens that can be substantiated by statements from you and other labor leaders.

2. Join us in the fight to gain the right to picket by walking on picket lines with local citizens.

3. Attend the next COFO meeting and speak there on May 17, Jackson, Mississippi. This would demonstrate to local leaders the solidarity of labor and civil rights in the struggle for equality.

I am writing to various labor people with whom we have had contact suggesting these specific ways they could become involved. I will also be suggesting that they look for ways to send in other labor representatives besides themselves in the way the National Council of Churches has sent in local ministers. This would probably be a good experience for local labor leaders and for workers and would certainly be of benefit to us.

I would like to know your reaction to these suggestions. Perhaps a meeting could be set up which could allow coordinated planning in the labor movement on the kind of action I have outlined. Or perhaps you would like to go ahead on your own.

Whatever you think, I'd appreciate your writing me at the COFO address. I'll look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours for Freedom,

Bob Moses

Bob Moses
COFO Program Director
SNCC Mississippi Project Director

FREEDOM CANDIDATES MISSISSIPPI

For the first time in this century, four Negroes are candidates for national office from Mississippi. One is a candidate for the Senate and three for the House of Representatives.

The four campaigns are being coordinated under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella civil rights organization in Mississippi comprising the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP.

All four candidates are entered in the regular Democratic primary in Mississippi to be held June 2. They are running on what is be called the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. If they are defeated in the Democratic party, they will be able to continue their campaigns as Independents in the General Election in November.

The candidacy of the Freedom Candidates is a direct challenge to the lily-white one-party political structure of the state. Only 28,000 or 6.6% of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote. 525,000 whites are registered voters.

All the Freedom Candidates will make Negro voting rights one of the basic issues of their campaigns. The campaigns themselves will serve as the focus for Voter Registration activities by COFO during the coming months.

For those not allowed to register on the official books, there will be a separate program: FREEDOM REGISTRATION. The Freedom Democratic Party has set up its own unofficial voter registration books for the purpose of registering as many as possible of Mississippi's 400,000 disenfranchised Negroes. These books, known as Freedom Registration Books, will be managed by Freedom Registrars appointed by COFO in every county. The Freedom Registrars will have the power to appoint deputy registrars to aid them in covering the county to provide every Negro with the opportunity to register to vote.

Freedom Registration has several purposes. First, it will serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can organize across the state. Secondly, it will be the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official county books.

Thirdly, Freedom Registration will form the basis for FREEDOM ELECTIONS to be held at the same time as the official elections in June and November. In the Freedom Elections, the only qualifications will be that voters are 21 or over, residents of the state, and registered on the Freedom Registration Books before the election. Whites as well as Negroes will be allowed to vote. Democratic and Republican candidates will be listed together with Freedom Democratic Candidates.

Through Freedom Registration and the Freedom Elections, it will be made clear that thousands of Negroes who are denied the right to vote in the official elections would do so if they could. On this basis, the seating of successful Republican and Democratic candidates will be challenged in Congress and in the Federal Courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

Thus, the Freedom Candidates will serve not only to bring the issues to the people of Mississippi, dramatize voter discrimination, and the atmosphere of harrassment and resistance by the official state apparatus, but will serve as a basis for challenging the rights of the incumbents to assume their seats in Congress.

As a further part of its political program, the Freedom Democratic Party will send a FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION to the National Democratic Convention at Atlantic City in August.

The Freedom Candidates will serve as the titular heads of the Freedom Democratic Delegation. Other delegates will be chosen through a series of meetings on the precinct, county, district, and state levels just as in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party. Unlike the regular party machinery, however, which is all-white, exclusive, and often dominated by White Citizens Council members, Freedom Delegates will be chosen in open meetings in which all registered voters (whether official or Freedom registered), Negores and whites alike, will be allowed to participate.

At the National Convention, the Freedom Democratic Delegation will attempt to have the Regular Democratic Delegation unseated and the Freedom Delegation seated in its place. It will do this on the grounds that the Regular Democratic Delegation was chosen by undemocratic means and that the Democratic Party of Mississippi has been disloyal to the National Democratic Party.

The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party split with the National Democratic Party in 1960. It did not support the National Democratic Ticket selected by the National Convention: John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It also refused to support the platform adopted by the National

Convention. The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates in the gubernatorial race of 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi Democratic Party stands for white supremacy and against Negro voting power. The principles of the National Democratic Party make it clear that a State party which behaves in the manner of the Mississippi Democratic Party stands in violation of National Party policy. This is sufficient grounds, according to National Democratic Party rules, to withdraw recognition of the State party.

The Freedom Democratic Delegation will be pledged to support the National Democratic Ticket and the National Democratic Platform chosen at the National Democratic Convention -- as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

FREEDOM CANDIDATES: Below are brief biographical sketches and campaigning programs for the four Freedom Candidates.

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER --- running in the 2nd Congressional District against Rep. Jamie Whitten, Chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture.

Mrs. Hamer, 47, comes from Sunflower County, the home of James Eastland, where Negroes are 69% of the population. She is the wife of Perry Hamer, a cotton gin worker in Ruleville. Until 1962, the Hamers had lived for 16 years on a plantation four miles from Ruleville. On August 31 of that year, the day Mrs. Hamer registered to vote, they were told they would have to leave the plantation immediately.

Mrs. Hamer began working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in December 1962 and has been one of the most active workers in the state on Voter Registration. On June 9, 1963, while returning from a SNCC workshop, she was arrested in Winona, Miss., and brutally beaten with a blackjack while in jail. Mrs. Hamer opened her campaign in Ruleville on March 21. She hopes to use her campaign to articulate the grievances of Mississippi's Negroes, particularly in the cotton-rich Delta, the 2nd Congressional District, where Negroes are a clear majority (59%) of the population. Mrs. Hamer constantly tells her audiences that she is only saying "what you have been thinking all along."

But Mrs. Hamer plans to direct her campaign to whites as well as Negroes. It is her thesis that all Mississippians, white and Negro alike, are victims of the all-white, one-party power structure of the state. In her campaign, she explains how Jamie Whitten, from his position on the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture, killed a bill to train 2400 tractor drivers. Six hundred of those to be trained were white.

Mrs. Hamer is presently ill in Ruleville (the nearest doctor is 10 miles away). Her condition is provoked and made more serious by after effects of the 1963 beating, from which she has never fully recovered.

JAMES MONROE HOUSTON --- candidate from the 3rd Congressional District against Robert Bell Williams, second in command on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. Houston, 74 years old, is a retired machinist from Vicksburg, member of the NAACP for over 20 years. He was arrested in 1934 for participation in a rural district meeting called to discuss the new Roosevelt programs. He was arrested again in Jackson in 1963 while attempting to march from a Methodist church to City Hall. In his opening campaign speech in Vicksburg on April 5, Mr. Houston told a crowd of 200-300 people that he would use his campaign to show what conditions for Negroes in Mississippi are really like. He claimed active support in all fourteen of the 3rd District's counties and said that he would represent all the people in the District if elected. For this reason, he said, his election would restore honor and dignity to the state of Mississippi.

REV. JOHN E. CAMERON --- candidate for the seat of William Meyers Colmer, second in command of the House Rules Committee, from the 5th Congressional District.

Rev. Cameron, 31, opened his campaign in Hattiesburg on March 26, addressing an audience of approximately 200 from the back of an open truck. His campaign will stres jobs, education, and citizenship rights for Negroes. In Biloxi, on April 4, Rev. Cameron called on both state and federal governments to provide training for unskilled laborers so that they may qualify for fulltime and rewarding employment. He stressed the importance of a candidate running in the 5th Congressional District who would represent the entire population of the district, rather than only one racial group.

Rev. Cameron is a former President of the National Baptist Student Union (1954-55), and holds a B.S. degree from Rust College and a Bachelor of Theology from American Baptist Theological Seminary. He is a member of the NAACP and a Friend of SNCC.

On April 4, Rev. Cameron was refused entrance to a public forum in Hattiesburg unless he agreed to sit in a section reserve for Negroes. A white minister with Rev. Cameron was threatened with arrest for attempting to discuss the matter with the Chairman of the forum. At present, Rev. Cameron is in jail, one of 66 people arrested in Hattiesburg April 9-10 under Mississippi's new anti-picketing law.

MRS. VICTORIA JACKSON GRAY --- candidate for Senate against John Stennis. Mrs. Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, is the mother of three children. She was one of the first Negroes to register in Forrest County, where Registrar Theron C. Lynn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes on an equal basis wit whites.

In an opening campaign statement given to the press April 9 Mrs. Gray stressed that "Unemployment, Automation, Inadequate Housing, Health Care, Education, and Rural Development are the real issues in Mississippi, not 'States Rights' or 'Federal Encroachment'." Mrs. Gray's own emphasis during the campaign will be on the problems of education faced by Negroes in the state.

April 12, 1964

SEGREGATION, HARRASSMENT, AND ARREST FOR NEGRO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE

Rev. John E. Cameron is the first Negro to run for Congress in Mississipp 5th Congressional District since Reconstruction. In attempting to play a full civic role in his own community of Hattiesburg, Rev. Cameron has had to face:

SEGREGATION:

On April 4, Rev. Cameron tried to attend a public legislative forum. The forum was originally scheduled for an unsegregated courtroom in the annex of the Forrest County Courthouse. After Rev. Cameron and a secretary and two white ministers accompanying him were seated, however, the chairman of the forum entered and said that the forum was too crowded and would be moved to the main courtroom in the Courthouse. The main courtroom is segregated.

When Rev. Cameron and his party attempted to enter the second hall, they were barred from the floor of the courtroom and told that they must sit in the balcony. Rev. Cameron refused to accept this segregated seating, and asked to see the chairman of the forum. The chairman refused to come out to see Rev. Cameron or to allow the latter to come in to see him When one of the white ministers went in to talk with the chairman, he was threatened with arrest if he did not either sid down immediately or leave

Rev. Cameron said: "I refuse to go upstairs and segregate myself from the other members of this public legislative forum," and left the Courthouse.

HARRASSMENT:

Rev. Cameron is constantly followed by police cars as he moves aroun Hattiesburg. This harrassment intimidates Negroes whom Rev. Cameron trie to approach in his Congressional campaign.

On the night of April 3, Rev. Cameron was stopped by Officer Hill of the Hattiesburg Police Department. The first thing the officer said was, "I hope you don't have your license." Rev. Cameron replied that he was sure the officer hoped for this, but that he was not so foolish as to be that careless in Hattiesburg. The officer let him go.

ARREST:

Since January 22, 1964, Hattiesburg Negroes had maintained a picket line at the Forrest County Courthouse as part of a campaign for voting rights. Late in the afternoon on April 9th they were told they could no longer picket, and when they returned on the morning of April 10 police arrested 43 picketers. Rev. Cameron and 7 white ministers from various Northern states were among those arrested.

The picketers were arrested under a new anti-picketing law pushed through the Mississippi legislature to combat picketing activities in such places as Hattiesburg. The picketers have been peaceful and they have accepted a limited area at the Courthouse in which to picket. Moreover, their cause is just -- Forrest County Registrar, Theron C. Lynn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes. Though the Constitution guarantees the right to peaceful demonstration and the right of all citizens to vote, even a candidate for Congress can be arrested for asserting these rights if he is a Negro in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

ANTI-PICKETING LAW PASSED IN MISSISSIPPI TO COMBAT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITIE

On April 8, 1964, Gov. Paul E. Johnson of Mississippi signed into effect House Bill No. 546, An Act to Prohibit the Unlawful Picketing of State Buildings, Courthouses, Public Streets, and Sidewalks. This bill was rushed through the legislature in less than one month in reaction to civil rights activities in the Mississippi towns of Hattiesburg and Gree wood. In those two cities, Negroes recently held Freedom Days in which picket lines were set up at County Courthouses to protest the refusal of local officials to register Negroes to vote on an equal basis with whites. The situation in both counties is serious. The Registrar in Hattiesburg (Forrest County) is under Federal Indictment for refusing to register Negroes. Nonetheless, city, county and state officials combined to limit the ability of Negroes to protest their disenfranchisemen On April 9, the day after Gov. Johnson signed the new law into effect, 52 people were arrested for picketing in Greenwood. The next day, 55 were arrested in Hattiesburg. Among those arrested in Hattiesburg was Rev. John E. Cameron, a Negro minister from Hattiesburg who is running against Rep. William Colmer in the Democratic Primary on June 2nd for the 5th Congressional District Seat. Presented below are, first, the text of the anti-picketing law itself, and then a detailed account of the events in Hattiesburg and Greenwood.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, singly or in concert with others, to engage in picketing or mass demonstration in such a manner as to obstruct or interfere with free ingress or egress to and from any public premises, State property, county or municipal courthouse city halls, office buildings, jails, or other public buildings or property owned by the State of Mississippi or any county or municipal govern ment located therein or with the transaction of public business or admin istration of justice therein or thereon conducted or so as to obstruct o interfere with free use of public streets, sidewalks or other public ways adjacent or contiguous thereto.

SECTION 2. Any person guilty of violating this act shall be deeme guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00), or imprisoned in jail not more than six (6) months, or both such fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

HATTIESBURG AND GREENWOOD. On Freedom Day, January 22, Negroes in Hattiesburg were successful for the first time in establishing a picket line at the Forrest County Courthouse. They carried signs protesting the failure of Forrest County officials to allow Negroes to register to vote. On March 25, Negroes in Greenwood followed suit. They also held a Freedom Day and were able to set up a picket line at the Leflore Count Courthouse. In both cases success was due in large part to the presen of white ministers from the North who joined the picket line. Local officials were apparently unwilling to risk the adverse national publicity that might result from arresting the ministers together with large numbers of local citizens.

From the beginning, however, there were attempts by Greenwood and Hatti burg officials to limit the extent of picketing. In Hattiesburg, demonstrators were told after a few days that they would be allowed to picket only in a barricaded area on one part of the sidewalk in front of the courthouse. In Greenwood, the same pattern was followed. Picketing was allowed for four days all the way around the courthouse. But on the afternoon of March 30, the picketers were advised that they would have to confine picketing to the west side of the courthouse starting March 31 because "white people in the community had told police that they were afraid to come to the courthouse while the pickets were there. The Greenwood leaders felt that the west side of the courthouse, facing a residential district, was not prominent enough to allow effective presentation of their demands. When they refused to limit picketing to the west side on the morning of the 31st, fourteen demonstrators were arres and charged with Disorderly Conduct. Their bond was set at $500 apiece Picketing was suspended, but a new Freedom Day was scheduled for April

Meanwhile, state officials were already at work to ensure that even limited picketing rights would be abolished. Rep. Jones of Forrest County introduced House Bill 546, the purpose of which according to the Jacks Clarion-Ledger was "to make it illegal to picket public buildings in Mississippi." The bill passed the House unanimously. When the bill reached the Senate, Sen. E.K. Collins of Laurel told his colleagues the measure was "an emergency bill for Greenwood." According to the Jackso Daily News (April 2, 1964) after Sen. Collins' remark, "there was no further discussion of the measure, which was designed to outlaw activities by civil rights groups." The bill was passed unanimously in the Senate. On the evening of April 8, the night before the second Greenwood Freedom Day, Gov. Johnson signed the bill into law.

As already noted, 52 pickets were arrested the next morning in Greenwoo Those demonstrating were first asked to move to the West side of the Courthouse. They complied with this request. But they were then told that only ten local Greenwood residents would be allowed to picket. Refusing to accept this further limitation, the picketers were all arrest Among those arrested were two local Negro ministers and eight white ministers from Pennsylvania and Ohio. Also arrested were five school children aged 9, 10, 11, 11, and 13. They were taken to the Police Station and later released to their parents. As the children were released, police told the parents that if the children picketed again, the parents would be arrested and the children sent to Reform School. The picketer were charged with Unlawful Picketing and Refusing to Obey an Officer. Charges were dropped later in the day, and all 47 adult demonstrators were released.

Also on April 9, in Hattiesburg, the picket line was stopped at 4:30 p. by police. A deputy sheriff read the new anti-picketing law to the demonstrators and told them that if they did not disperse they would be arrested. As there were few picketers on the line, they chose not to make a stand at that time and dispersed. When picketing resumed at 9:45 the next morning, 37 demonstrators were arrested immediately. The were not informed as to the reason for their arrest and as of evening no charges had been preferred. During the day, the number of those who attempted to picket and were arrested rose to 55. Among those arrested were seven white ministers from Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Colorado As mentioned above, Rev. John E. Cameron, Negro candidate for Congress in the 5th Congressional District, was also arrested.

April 7, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

My dear Jim:

I have been deeply concerned with a number of recent developments that, undoubtedly, will affect the thinking and action of both Negro and white people in the United States and consequently will affect the course of the civil rights movement's progress and strategy. These developments include:

(a) the emergence in the North of an organized Right whose propaganda and tactics give the appearance of separating many previously committed white people from our movement.

(b) the declared intention of Malcolm X to project a social and political program and his advocacy of rifle clubs. His "ballot or bullets" speech before a 1,000 people several days ago in Harlem requires of us the most careful analysis.

(c) the growth in a number of northern cities of Left totalitarian influence in a number of protest groups.

(d) the rise of demagogic Negro leadership in a number of cities and their determined effort to sow confusion and compound frustration, while offering the Negro masses no concrete alternative.

These developments indicate to me a very real need for the leadership of established civil rights groups to meet, for the purpose

of examining and analyzing these trends and attempting to find a means to combat them.

I, therefore, would like to propose that you, and the individuals listed below as having received a similar letter, meet with me at a mutually agreeable time and place in the near future for a full discussion of these and related matters. Once I have an indication that you and the others feel such a meeting would be helpful, I shall ask my secretary, Miss Wilds, to reach you concerning dates when you will be free.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b

Similar letter to:
- Dr. Martin Luther King
- Mr. Roy Wilkins
- Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
- Mr. John Lewis

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

RFR 1 CHG NEGRO AMER LABOR COUNCIL= FEB 3 1964=

REV MILTON GALAMISON=
SILOAM PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH=
260 JEFFERSON AVENUE= BROOKLYN ,NYK=

I HAIL AND SALUTE THE CITY-WIDE COMMITTEE FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS UNDER YOUR DEDICATED LEADERSHIP ON A SUCCESSFUL AND TIMELY SCHOOL BOYCOTT TO AWAKEN AND AROUSE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL OFFICIALS, CITIZENS, AND CHILDREN TO THE FACT THAT SCHOOL SEGREGATION HAS NO PLACE IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND MUST GO=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH= PRESIDENT=
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL=

THE COMPANY WILL API PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

New Jersey State

INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCIL

affiliated with

AFL-CIO INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT

744 Broad Street **Newark, New Jersey**

PHONE: 622-3268

623-4800

NEW JERSEY OFFICERS
GEORGE M. MILLER, PRESIDENT
EDWARD F. GRAY, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN PROTO, SECRETARY-TREASURER

NATIONAL OFFICERS
WALTER P. REUTHER, PRESIDENT
JAMES B. CAREY, SECRETARY-TREASURER
38

June 22, 1964

Miss Bernice Wilds
Secretary to A. Philip Randolph
Bro. of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bernice:

I believe both you and Joe Overton asked me for a copy of the citation read by Dr. Mason W. Gross when he awarded the Honorary Degree to A. Philip Randolph.

I am enclosing three copies herein. Would you kindly see that Joe gets a copy, and the other two, of course, are for you and Brother Randolph.

I was delighted that you were able to join our little party and hope that we'll have the pleasure of seeing you again soon.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely and fraternally,

Joel

JRJ:aw
encl.

Joel R. Jacobson

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH

Trade unionist, social philosopher, humanitarian, explorer of democracy. Your brilliant leadership in the struggle against exploitation, ignorance, poverty, and bigotry has strengthened justice everywhere throughout our Nation. Launched and directed under your inspiration, last summer's now historic march on Washington was a symbolic contribution to the success of America's civil rights movement.

For your gifted trade union leadership, for your dignified inspiration to civil rights advocates, and for your eloquent voice in teaching and practicing democracy, I am pleased at the direction of the Board of Governors of the University to confer upon you, honoris causa, the degree of Doctor of Laws.

Mason W. Gross

Conferred at the
198th Anniversary Commencement
June 3, 1964

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

JUL 30 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

1964 JUL 30 PM 3 29

Th … L TIME at point of origin. Time of rec… LO… int of destination

GPA113 RA227 WC260 (51).

NW SNB046 GOVT PD SN WASHINGTON DC 30 243P EDT =

A PHILIP RANDOLF, CHAIRMAN, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK

=I CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR OUTSTANDING STATESMANSHIP IN ISSUING TODAY YOUR CALL AGAINST VIOLENCE OR EXTREMISM NOT WITHSTANDING MANIFOLD INJUSTICES UNDER WHICH NEGROES SUFFER, AND WHICH I UNDERSTAND VERY WELL, AND YOUR EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF LAW AND JUSTICE. LEAVING ALL THE POLITICS ASIDE, I ASSURE YOU OF FULL SUPPORT AND AM SENDING YOU A COPY OF THE STATEMENT I ISSUED TODAY.

= JACOB K JAVITS UNITED STATES SENATOR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

The President
requests the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Randolph
at luncheon
on Tuesday, January 7, 1964
at one o'clock

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

CH

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
will please present this card at
THE SOUTHWEST GATE
The White House
January 7, 1964
at one o'clock
NOT TRANSFERABLE

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am deeply grateful for your warm telegram. I hope and pray that I can live up to the confidence you express in me and I will do everything within my power to serve you and all Americans.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters
3947 South Drexel
Chicago, Illinois

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 4, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked me to thank you for your message of last month congratulating him on his firm commitment to attack the poverty problem that exists in this Nation. Obviously, your support and that of your organization will be most helpful.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

RECEIVED
FEB 6 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 13, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President appreciated your message on the victory in the House on the civil rights bill. Obviously, the very heavy majority is encouraging, but the real fight, as you know, lies ahead.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

REC
FEB 1 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

April 28, 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
accepts with pleasure
The President and Mrs. Johnson's
invitation to dine
on Monday evening, the fourth of May
at half past seven o'clock

The President and Mrs. Johnson
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Randolph
at dinner
on Monday, May 4, 1964
at 7:30 o'clock

Mr. Randolph

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

Table
3

The President
invites
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
to attend the
National Conference on Industrial Safety
to be held at the
Departmental Auditorium
Washington, D.C.
June 2, 3, and 4, 1952

DINNER

Crêpes of crabmeat Nantua

Wente Pinot Chardonnay	Chicken Chasseur Wild rice String beans
	Asparagus Vinaigrette
Laurent-Perrier Blanc de Blanc 1959	Strawberry Mousse Petits-fours

The White House
Monday, May 4, 1964

Dinner for Labor Leaders

At seven-thirty, preceding dinner, the President will discuss economic trends with the gentlemen and Mrs. Johnson will receive the ladies.

Black Tie

May 8, 1964

The Social Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madame:

Kindly convey to the President and Mrs. Johnson my great gratitude for the invitation to dine at the White House, with leaders of American Labor, Monday evening, May 4.

I had a delightful time in company at dinner with the First Lady, whose charm, dignity and grace enhanced my enjoyment of the evening, and I listened with profit and pleasure to the masterful presentation of an analysis of the American economy by the President.

Having just recovered from an attack of virus, which leaves one with intermittent spells of coughing, I regret I found it necessary to depart without bidding the President and Mrs. Johnson adieu, not wishing to disturb them in the midst of the party.

Sincerely and respectfully,

Social Secretary of the White House

~~Oh~~ Kindly convey to The
President and the First Lady Mrs. Johnson,
my great gratitude for invitation ~~with~~
to dinner at the White House with
The leaders of the American Labor. ~~[illegible]~~ March 4, 1964.
I had a delightful time in company
at dinner with The First Lady of America,
[illegible] and [illegible] and I listened with profit and
pleasure to the masterful presentation ~~of the President~~.
It was a very great lift up from an
elation of [illegible], which leaves one with
intermittent spells of [illegible]. I departed without
taking the President's and the First Lady's adieu, not wishing to
distract them in the midst of the Party.

Sincerely and Respectfully
A. Philip Randolph

of an analysis of the American economy by the
President.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

SF-1201 (4-60)

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NJ005 (52)PA877
1964 JUN 21 AM 1 09
RA028 R WWY094 WWZ03 WWZ03 GOVT NL PD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
DC 20

A PHILIP RANDOLPH GP
ROOM 301 217 WEST 125TH ST NYK

THE PRESIDENT INVITES YOU TO LUNCHEON HONORING THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE, THURSDAY, JUNE 25TH, AT 12:30 OCLOCK. PLEASE PRESENT TELEGRAM AT SOUTHWEST GATE. RSVP

THE SOCIAL SECRETARY.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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RLO 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= JUNE 22 1964=

THE SOCIAL SECRETARY=
THE WHITE HOUSE= WASHINGTON D C :

= I ACCEPT WITH PLEASURE THE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION TO LUNCHEON HONORING THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE, THURSDAY, JUNE 25 AT 12:30 OCLOCK=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=
217 W 125 ST, NYK=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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1964 JUL 1 PM 10 53

=GPA196 BA831 =N CGA190 WUX THE WHITE HOUSE 1 NFT =
(CT WWY023) WWZ3 WWZ3 GOVT PD VIA CG (UNKN =230 W 150 ST)
:A PHILIP RANDOLPH
=DLR 217 WEST 125TH ST NYK

=I AM HAPPY TO INFORM YOU OF MY INTENTION TO AWARD YOU THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM. THIS IS THE HIGHEST CIVIL HONOR CONFERRED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SERVICE IN PEACETIME. THE =CRITERIA FOR THIS AWARD INCLUDE MERITORIOUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SECURITY OR NATIONAL INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, WORLD PEACE, CULTURAL OR OTHER SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC OR PRIVATE ENDEAVOR. =THE FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE WHITE HOUSE OF THE

THIRTY :RECIPIENTS FOR THIS YEAR WILL BE MADE ON JULY FOURTH. THE PRESENTATION OF THE MEDAL WILL TAKE PLACE IN SEPTEMBER AT THE WHITE HOUSE:WITH WARM BEST WISHES AND CONGRATULATIONS

LYNDON B JOHNSON. = =

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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=== RLO 1 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= JUL 2 1964=

THE HON LYNDON B JOHNSON=
THE WHITE HOUSE= WASHINGTON D C =

I AM PROUD AND HAPPY TO LEARN THAT I WILL BE A RECIPIENT OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM= I AM DEEPLY APPRECIATIVE OF THIS GREAT HONOR AND WILL BE ON HAND FOR PRESENTATION IN SEPTEMBER=

RESPECTFULLY=
A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

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DC =17

WUQ033 WUA038 BA145 WWZ9 GOVT NL PD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

= A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
ROOM 301 217 WEST 125TH ST NYK =

= I WOULD BE PLEASED IF YOU COULD VISIT WITH ME AT THE WHITE =HOUSE AT 4:00 P.M. ON JULY 24TH. AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH =YOU AND OTHER OUTSTANDING LEADERS OF OUR COUNTRY IS, I BELIEVE, =IMPORTANT AND DESIRABLE. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD WIRE =ME THAT YOU CAN BE PRESENT. PLEASE PRESENT THIS TELEGRAM AT =SOUTHWEST GATE =

LYNDON B JOHNSON. =

=933A EDT JUL 20 64

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

July 24, 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
accepts with pleasure
The President and Mrs. Johnson's
invitation to dinner
on Monday evening, the twenty-seventh of July
at eight o'clock
in honor of
His Excellency
The President of the Malagasy Republic
and Mrs. Tsiranana

The President and Mrs. Johnson
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Randolph
at dinner
on Monday, July 27, 1964
at eight o'clock

On the occasion of the visit of
His Excellency
The President of the Malagasy Republic
and Mrs. Tsiranana

1D

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
will please present this card at
THE SOUTHWEST GATE
The White House
July 27, 1964
at 8 o'clock
NOT TRANSFERABLE

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

Black Tie

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I appreciated your telegram commenting on my speech to the American Bar Association and hope that you and the other national Negro leaders will be able to help in insisting on compliance with the law in every section of the country and by all citizens.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Negro American Labor Council
127 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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RLO 3 CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= AUG 27 1964=

THE HON LYNDON B JOHNSON=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON DC=

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES= WHILE I AM SURE YOU WILL WIN, ALL LOVERS OF FREEDOM MUST HELP YOU WIN=

= A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

President Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House -
Washington, DC.

Congratulations upon your nomination for President of the United States.

While I am sure you will win all lovers of freedom must help you win.

A. Philip Randolph
8/27/64

President Lyndon B. Johnson
The White House
Wash D.C.

Congratulations upon your nomination for President of the United States.

In this hour of crisis your wise and constructive leadership will be a blessing to America and the world.

A. Philip Randolph

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am grateful for your congratulations on my nomination. It is indeed heartening to receive your assurance of confidence.

With many thanks for your message, and my best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
127 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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RLO 1-2= BOOK OF 2= PD BROTHERHOOD SCP= NOV 4 1964=

RLO 1 = HON. LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON D C=

RLO 2= HON. HUBERT H HUMPHREY=
THE WHITE HOUSE=
WASHINGTON D C =

CONGRATULATIONS UPON A GREAT AND DESERVING VICTORY=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=
= PRESIDENT= BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

2

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 19, 1964

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I appreciate deeply your kind message of congratulations. In the years that lie ahead of us, it is my intention to direct all of my energy toward justifying the vote of confidence that the American people gave to Senator Humphrey and me.

As I counted on you for your help during the campaign, I will also count heavily on you for help with the work that lies before us. We have the means in this land to build together that Great Society, that better life for all citizens. We have only to work together to bring it about. I know that I will have your continued support in this effort.

Again, thank you for all you did to make it possible for us to continue to work for you and for all your fellow citizens.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO
230 West 150th Street
New York, New York

ND

Your thoughtful remembrance cheered me and I want you to know how much Mrs. Johnson and I appreciate it.

Lyndon B. Johnson

April 7, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Martin:

I have been deeply concerned with a number of recent developments that, undoubtedly, will affect the thinking and action of both Negro and white people in the United States and consequently will affect the course of the civil rights movement's progress and strategy. These developments include:

(a) the emergence in the North of an organized Right whose propaganda and tactics give the appearance of separating many previously committed white people from our movement.

(b) the declared intention of Malcolm X to project a social and political program and his advocacy of rifle clubs. His "ballot or bullets" speech before a 1,000 people several days ago in Harlem requires of us the most careful analysis.

(c) the growth in a number of northern cities of Left totalitarian influence in a number of protest groups.

(d) the rise of demagogic Negro leadership in a number of cities and their determined effort to sow confusion and compound frustration, while offering the Negro masses no concrete alternative.

These developments indicate to me a very real need for the leadership of established civil rights groups to meet, for the purpose

of examining and analyzing these trends and attempting to find a means to combat them.

I, therefore, would like to propose that you, and the individuals listed below as having received a similar letter, meet with me at a mutually agreeable time and place in the near future for a full discussion of these and related matters. Once I have an indication that you and the others feel such a meeting would be helpful, I shall ask my secretary, Miss Wilds, to reach you concerning dates when you will be free.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b

Similar letter to:
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Mr. James Farmer
Mr. John Lewis

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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= RLO 1 = CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= OCT 14 1964=
DR MARTIN LUTHER KING JR=
563 JOHNSON AVENUE N E
= ATLANTA GA=

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR RECEIVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WHICH YOU, AS ONE OF THE GREAT PROPHETS AND MORAL LEADERS OF THE WORLD, RICHLY DESERVE= YOUR LIFE AND LEADERSHIP NOT ONLY REFLECT GREAT CREDIT AND HONOR UPON YOURSELF AND THE NEGRO RACE BUT IS ALSO AN INSPIRATION TO NEGRO YOUTH OF THIS AND FUTURE GENERATIONS=

¶ IN THE NAME OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PORTERS AND NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL I HAIL AND SALUTE YOU FOR YOUR BRILLIANT AND MATCHLESS LEADERSHIP AND BID YOU FORWARD IN THE BATTLE FOR RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR BLACK AND WHITE AMERICANS=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

DISTRICT 65 RETAIL, WHOLESALE AND DEPARTMENT STORE UNION A.F.L.-C.I.O.
13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • ORegon 3-5120

DAVID LIVINGSTON
President
WILLIAM MICHELSON
Executive Vice-President
CLEVELAND ROBINSON
Secretary-Treasurer
AL BERNKNOPF
Vice-President for Administration
FRANK BROWN
Vice-President for Organization
JOHN MEEGAN
Vice-President for Department Stores
IRVING BALDINGER
Vice-President for Welfare & Education
MILTON REVERBY
Vice-President

October 21, 1964

A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Attention: Miss Wilds

Dear Miss Wilds:

This is a copy of Martin Luther King's address to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

I am sure that Brother Randolph would like to see a copy of it.

Would you please be sure and bring it to his attention?

Sincerely yours,

Cleveland Robinson
Cleveland Robinson
Secretary Treasurer

CR:gc
encl.

RECEIVED
OCT 2[illegible] 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

ANNUAL REPORT OF
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., PRESIDENT
SOUTHER CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA - SEPTEMBER 28 -
OCTOBER 2, 1964.

MR. CHAIRMAN, FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

SINCE OUR CONVENTION IN RICHMOND LAST YEAR, PROFOUND AND REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES HAVE OCCURRED WITHIN OUR COUNTRY AS WELL AS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. JUST BEFORE OUR 1963 CONVENTION, WE WITNESSED THE EMBERS OF FREEDOM SMOLDERING WITHIN TWENTY MILLION BLACK AMERICANS ERUPTING INTO BLAZING CONFLAGRATION IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA: JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI: NEW YORK CITY: CAMBRIDGE, MARYLAND, AND OTHER PARTS OF OUR NATION. IN 1964, THE MEANING OF THE SO-CALLED NEGRO REVOLUTION BECAME CLEAR FOR ALL TO SEE AND WAS GIVEN LEGISLATIVE RECOGNITION IN THE RECENTLY ENACTED CIVIL RIGHTS LAW.

YET, IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THIS LAW, A SERIES OF EVENTS SHOOK THE NATION, COMPELLING THE GRIM REALIZATION THAT THE REVOLUTION WOULD CONTINUE INEXORABLY UNTIL TOTAL SLAVERY HAD BEEN REPLACED BY TOTAL FREEDOM.

THE NEW EVENTS TO WHICH I REFER ARE: THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO: THE CONSUMMATION OF A MARRIAGE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT AND THE SEGREGATIONISTS: THE HIDEOUS TRIPLE LYNCHINGS IN MISSISSIPPI: AND THE OUTBREAK OF RIOTS IN SEVERAL NORTHERN CITIES.

IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TOOK A GIANT STRIDE AWAY FROM ITS LINCOLN TRADITION, GEARING ITS APPEAL AND PROGRAM TO RACISM, REACTION AND EXTREMISM. ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL VIEWED WITH ALARM AND CONCERN THE FRENZIED WEDDING AT THE COW PALACE OF THE KKK WITH THE RADICAL RIGHT. THE "BEST MAN" AT THIS CEREMONY WAS A SENATOR WHOSE VOTING RECORD PHILOSOPHY AND

PROGRAM AND ANATHEMA TO ALL OF THE HARD-WON ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST DECADE.

THUS, THE CELEBRATION OF FINAL ENACTMENT OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CURDLED AND SOURED. REJOICING WAS REPLACED BY A DEEP AND FRIGHTENING CONCERN THAT THE COUNTER-FORCES TO NEGRO LIBERATION COULD FLAGRANTLY NOMINATE FOR THE HIGHEST OFFICE IN THE LAND ONE WHO OPENLY CLASPED THE RACIST HAND OF STROM THURMOND. A COLD FEAR TOUCHED THE HEARTS OF TWENTY MILLION NEGROES. THEY HAD ONLY BEGUN TO COME OUT OF THE DARK LAND OF EGYPT WHERE SO MANY OF THEIR BROTHERS ARE STILL IN BONDAGE - STILL DENIED ELEMENTARY DIGNITY. THE FORCES TO BAR THE FREEDOM ROAD, TO DRIVE US BACK TO EGYPT, SEEMED SO FORMIDABLE SO HIGH IN AUTHORITY, AND SO DETERMINED.

BUT, IN 1964, OUR FEARS WILL NOT LEAD TO PANIC. I AM CONFIDENT THAT OUR RANKS CANNOT BE BROKEN OR SCATTERED. A FEW CAN BE PROVOKED AT TIMES TO UNCONTROLLED PROTESTS: STILL-FEWER CAN HEED TEMPORARILY THE FALSE VOICES. NB BUT THE BATTLES OF MONTGOMERY, ALBANY, ST.AUGUSTINE, BIRMINGHAM AND DANVILLE WERE NOT IN VAIN. THE MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHO INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, FACED FIRE HOSES AND DOGS' FANGS AND FILLED THE JAILS, HAVE BEEN TEMPERED AND DISCIPLINED BY THESE STRUGGLES.

IN THE BURSTING MOOD THAT HAS OVERTAKEN THE NEGRO THE WORDS "COMPROMISE", "RETREAT", ARE PROFANE AND PERNICIOUS. THE DIRECTION OF THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT - - INDEED ITS COMPELLING AND INSPIRED FORWARD MOTION -- CANNOT BE DIVERTED FOR LONG. DETOURS AND ERRORS WILL OCCUR..... NB THERE WILL BE TEMPORARY SETBACKS. WE WILL HAVE OUR VALLEY FORGES AND SUMMER SOLDIERS, AND EVEN BENEDICT ARNOLDS. BUT, LIKE THE WORDS OF OUR INSPIRING FREEDOM SONG, WE WILL HEAD FOR OUR GOAL BECAUSE WE "AIN'T" GONNA LET NOBODY TURN US AROUND".

OUR REVOLUTION IS GENUINE BECAUSE IT WAS BRON FROM THE SAME WOMB THAT ALWAYS GIVES BIRTH TO MASSIVE SOCIAL UPHEAVALS--THE WOMB OF INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS AND UNENDURABLE SITUATIONS.

THE NEGRO IS DETERMINED TO LIBERATE HIMSELF. HIS CRY FOR JUSTICE HAS HARDENED INTO A PALPABLE, IRRESISTIBLE FORCE. HE IS UNWILLING TO RETROGRESS OR EVEN MARK TIME. IN THIS REVOLUTION, NO PLANS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN FOR RETREAT. THOSE WHO WILL NOT YET GET INTO STEP WILL FIND THE PARADE HAS PASSED THEM.

FINALLY, THE NEGRO KNOWS HE IS RIGHT. HE HAS NOT CLOSED RANKS. HE HAS NOT ORGANIZED FOR CONQUEST TO GAIN SPOILS OR TO ENSLAVE THOSE WHO HAVE INJURED HIM. HIS GOAL IS NOT TO CAPTURE WHAT BELONGS TO SOMEONE ELSE--HE MERELY WANTS AND WILL HAVE WHAT IS HONORABLY HIS!

I HAVE DEALT AT SOME LENGTH WITH THE BROAD PERSPECTIVE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US TODAY. ALLOW ME NOW TO GIVE A CURSORY VIEW OF THE WORK OF SCLC DURING THE UNFOLDING EVENTS OF THE PAST YEAR. I HOPE YOU WILL ALLOW ME THE PRIVILEDGE OF BOASTING A BIT IN YOUR BEHALF, FOR I TRULY BELIEVE THAT SCLC WAS IN A LARGE MEASURE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE POSITIVE GAINS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS. SCLC AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION IN BIRMINGHAM, AND SET IN MOTION THE FORCES WHICH COALESCED TO GIVE OUR NATION A COMPREHENSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

SCLC CONTINUES TO GROW AT A RAPID PACE. OUR ORGANIZATIONAL EXPANSION OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS HAVE BEEN NOTHING LESS THAN PHENOMENAL. LAST YEAR AT CONVENTION TIME WE HAD A TOTAL OF 85 ACTIVE AFFILIATES. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE THAT NUMBER OF AFFILIATES TO 217. PRESENTLY WE HAVE AFFILIATES IN 28 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. THIS GREAT AFFILIATE GROWTH IS DUE ALMOST ENTIRELY TO THE INDEFATICABLE WORK OF OUR DIRECTOR OF AFFILIATES, C. T. VIVIAN. WE ALL OWE C. T. A GREAT DEBT OF GRATITUDE FOR HIS TIRELESS AND DEDICATED EFFORTS.

DIRECT ACTION

THE MAINSTAY OF THE SCLC PROGRAM IS STILL IN THE AREA OF NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION. OUR FEELING IS THAT THIS METHOD MORE THAN ANY OTHER IS THE BEST WAY TO RAISE THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND THE INJUSTICES OF OUR SOCIAL ORDER BEFORE THE COURT OF WORLD OPINION AND REQUIRE ACTION.

THIS PAST YEAR WE HAVE WITNESSED THE FIRST SERIOUS THREAT TO NON-VIOLENCE AS THE TEMPERS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF NORTHERN GHETTOS HAVE FLARED IN OPEN VIOLENCE. HOWEVER, WE WILL NOT RETREAT FROM THIS CHALLENGE, IN FACT, WE GLADLY ACCEPT IT. OUR PROGRAM THIS YEAR HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO RESPOND TO THESE DEMANDS.

WHEN NORTHERN NEGROES BEGAN TO PLAN STALL-INS WHICH FAILED, AND DUMPING GARBAGE ON THE STEPS OF CITY HALLS, WE REALIZED THAT THE DESIRE TO FREEDOM WHICH WE AWAKENED THROUGH OUR ACTION IN THE SOUTH DEMANDED THAT WE KEEP OUR PEOPLE IN MOTION, OR THE MOVEMENT MIGHT CONTINUE IN A CHAOTIC FASHION. OURS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY TO CHANNEL THE FRUSTRATIONS TOWARD PRODUCTIVE AND CREATIVE ENDS. ONE WAY OF DOING THIS IS BY CONTINUING TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH AND PROVIDING AN OUTLET WITH WHICH NEGROES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY CAN IDENTIFY.

ANOTHER OBSERVATION WE MAKE IS THAT WHEN WE ARE IDLE, THE WHITE MAJORITY VERY QUICKLY FORGETS THE INJUSTICES WHICH STARTED OUR MOVEMENT AND ONLY THINK OF THE DEMANDS FOR PROGRESS AS UNREASONABLE REQUESTS FROM IRRESPONSIBLE PEOPLE. FEW WHITES WOULD DENY OUR CAUSE IN THE DAYS WHEN DOGS AND FIRE HOSES WERE TURNED ON OUR CHILDREN OR WHEN WE FILLED THE JAILS BY THE THOUSANDS IN THE QUEST FOR DIGNITY. A FEW DAYS LATER, HOWEVER, THESE SAME PEOPLE WERE SAYING THAT WE WERE GOING TOO FAST. AND SO IT WAS NECESSARY FOR US TO AGAIN REMIND THE NATION OF THE REASONS THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL CAME INTO EXISTENCE IN THE FIRST PLACE. FOR THIS TASK, WE CHOSE THE NATION'S OLDEST CITY.

ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA WAS SYMBOLIC OF THE OLD SOUTH. THE KU KLUX KLAN AND THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY LINKED IN AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE TO RETAIN AN AIR OF TERROR FOR NEGRO CITIZENS THERE. DR. ROBERT HAYLING, A NEGRO DENTIST, HAD WAGED A COURAGEOUS YEAR LONG BATTLE AGAINST THESE FORCES AND REQUESTED OUR HELP. SCLC SENT IN HOSEA WILLIAMS, AND FROM THERE ON WE HAD A MOVEMENT. AT ONE POINT WE HAD AS MANY AS 20 OF OUR STAFF MEMBERS ON THAT DIFFICULT BATTLEFIELD. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF RAGING VIOLENCE IN AMERICA'S OLDEST CITY, IN WHICH MORE THAN 300 SCLC-LED DEMONSTRATORS WERE ARRESTED AND SCORES OF OTHERS INJURED BY KLANSMEN WIELDING TIRE CHAINS AND OTHER WEAPONS, WE WERE ABLE TO PROCLAIM A RELATIVE VICTORY IN THAT ROCK-BOUND BASTION OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

IN COMBINATION WITH THE LOCAL DEFENSE FUND WE BEGAN TO PAVE THE WAY FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AND RUSH THROUGH ITS' PASSAGE. THE LEGAL AND ACTION STRATEGY, TOGETHER HAVE GIVEN US A BODY OF PRECEDENT FOR DEALING WITH HARD CORE COMMUNITIES WHO ALLOW VIGILANTE MOBS TO PRESERVE THE OLD SOUTH TRADITIONS.

OUR NEXT CAMPAIGN WAS TO HAVE BEEN IN ALABAMA. THIS WAS TO BE OUR TESTING GROUND FOR COMPLIANCE WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. PLANS WERE ALSO UNDERWAY TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO DEMAND CHANGE IN THE ELECTION LAWS TO PERMIT REGISTRATION IN LARGE NUMBERS. AT PRESENT, IT WOULD TAKE 135 YEARS TO REGISTER 10,000 NEGROES UNDER THE EXISTING VOTING REGULATIONS.

TWO THINGS INTERFERED WITH THIS PLAN. FIRST, OUR FIELD STAFF UNDER JAMES BEVEL DID TOO GOOD A MOBILIZATION JOB. WHEN THE ALABAMA POWER STRUCTURE BECAME AWARE OF OUR PLANS THEY MADE SURPRISINGLY REASONABLE PLANS TO COMPLY WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL LEST THEY SUFFER THE HIGH COST OF CONFLICT.

THE SECOND FACTOR WAS THE IMMINENT CANDIDACY OF SENATOR GOLDWATER WHICH MADE IT ESSENTIAL FOR US TO TURN ALL FORCES TO AREAS WHERE REGISTRATION COULD BE READILY ACCOMPLISHED AND WHERE POLITICAL RESULTS WERE POSSIBLE. THIS RESULTED IN THE POSTPONEMENT OF THERIGHT TO VOTE EFFORT IN ALABAMA.

FOLLOWING THIS, JIM BEVEL AND THE ALABAMA STAFF BEGAN TO WORK MORE IN NORTHERN CITIES. RIOTS HAD BROKEN OUT AND THREATENED TO NULLIFY SOME OF THE GAINS ~~XX~~ OF THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT. A TEAM WAS SENT INTO ROCHESTER TO BEGIN WORKING WITH RIOTING GANGS AND TO EXPERIEMENT WITH METHODS OF WORKING IN THE NORTH. THE RESULTS WERE SPECTACULAR. IN A FEW DAYS THE SAME GANGS WHO RIOTED, HAD SECURED REPRESENTATION ON THE COMMUNITY CENTER BOARD, HELD CONFERENCES WITH THE POLICE CHIEF AND CITY MANAGER, AND HAD BEGUN TO WORK IN VOTER REGISTRATION. FOLLOWING THIS SUCCESSFUL EXPERIEMENT, THE TEAM MOVED ON TO PHILADELPHIA WHERE SIMILAR RESULTS WERE ACHIEVED.

VOTER REGISTRATION

ONE OF THE SELDOM MENTIONED DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS HAS BEEN THE PHENOMINAL GROWTH OF NEGRO REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH. NEGRO REGISTRATION IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES HAS NEARLY DOUBLED SINCE THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. NEGRO VOTERS NOW NUMBER MORE THAN 2 MILLION COMPARED WITH ~~XXXXXX~~ 1.1 MILLION FOUR YEARS AGO. THIS INCREASED POLITICAL STRENGTH MAY WELL PREVENT SENATOR GOLDWATER FROM CARRYING THE SOUTH IN THE COMING ELECTIONS.

I AM HAPPY TO REPORT THAT SCLC HAS PLAYED A MOST SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN MAKING THIS VOTER REGISTRATION LEAP POSSIBLE. UNITING WITH OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, WE HAVE WORKED IN COMMUNITIES ALL ACROSS THE SOUTH. DURING THE PAST YEAR ALONE, SCLE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ADDING LOCAL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE REGISTERING OF APPROXEMATELY 100,000 NEW VOTERS. IN ADDITION TO ~~XXXXX~~ THESE PERMANENT

REGISTRATIONS, SCLC PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN RECRUITING ALMOST 60,000 BLOCK WORKERS ACROSS THE STATE OF TEXAS, WHO IN TURN REGISTERED MORE THAN 300,000 NEGRO CITIZENS ON THE ANNUAL TEXAS REGISTRATION THROUGH POLL TAX PLAN. THIS WAS ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH THE WORK OF OUR BIRMINGHAM REGISTRATION TEAM WHO FIRED UP STUDENTS ACROSS THE GREAT STATE OF TEXAS IN A TREMENDOUS EFFORT UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE TEXAS COUNCIL OF VOTERS.

APPROXIMATELY 40,000 VOTERS WERE ADDED IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA. PERHAPS THE TWO MOST OUTSTANDING EFFORTS IN THE SOUTH WERE HELD IN ATLANTA AND SAVANNAH, WHERE THE POLITICAL TIDE HAS BEGUN TO TURN AND WHERE NEGRO CITIZENS WERE ABLE TO REGISTER IN NEIGHBORHOOD LOCATIONS. ATLANTA REGISTERED ALMOST 20,000 and SAVANNAH 8,000. OTHER SIGNIFICANT DRIVES WERE CONDUCTED IN ALBANY AND IN JONES COUNTY. THE GEORGIA REGISTRATION OF NEGRO VOTERS NOW STANDS NEAR THE 300,000 MARK, AND THIS HAS REMOVED GEORGIA FROM THEDIXIECRAT CAMP AND STARTED HER ON A PATH OF MODERATION AND PROGRESS.

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OTHER DRIVES WERE HELD IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA WHERE 2,000 VOTERS WERE ADDED, VIRGINIA WHERE 3,610 WERE ADDED IN SPITE OF A $4.86 POLL TAX; WHERE CITIZENSHIP SCHOOLS ORGANIZED IN ALL 46 COUNTIES WORKED IN A STATEWIDE ORGANIZATION WHICH BROUGHT SOUTH CAROLINA'S REGISTRATION UP TO 250,000,

THERE IS A DIRECT CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBEROF VOTERS AND THE MORAL CLIMATE OF A GIVEN STATE. THIS IS WHY I STILL CONTEND THAT ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT STEPS THAT THE NEGRO CAN TAKE IS THAT SHORT WALK TO THE VOTING BOOTH.

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

LAST YEAR SCLC RECEIVED A GRANT OF $250,000.00 FOR A TWO YEAR PROGRAM IN BASIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION. THIS WAS THE THIRD YEAR THAT WE HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THIS PROGRAM WITH THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOC. OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST. THE GRANT CALLS FOR TRAINING 300 LOCAL COMMUNITY LEADERS EACH YEAR TO CONDUCT CLASSES FOR ADULTS WHICH WILL TRAIN THEM TO VOTE

AND PARTICIPATE IN THE CIVIC LIFE OF THE COMMUNITY. THIS YEAR WE TRAINED 502 PERSONS FROM 12 STATES, WHO IN TURN CONDUCTED 413 CLASSES. SIX THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED EIGHTY ONE PERSONS WERE TAUGHT IN THESE CLASSES. EACH CLASS IS ASSIGNED TO CONDUCT A NEIGHBORHOOD REGISTRATION DRIVE. THESE DRIVES RESULTED IN AN ADDITIONAL 25,962 PERSONS BEING REGISTERED THROUGH OUR EFFORTS.

THE CITIZENSHIP PROGRAM IS ALSO RAPIDLY BECOMING THE BASE OF SEVERAL PHASES OF OUR PROGRAM. IN SOUTH CAROLINA THE CLASSES CONDUCTED IN ALL 46 COUNTRIES OF THAT STATE FORM THE GRASS ROOTS BASIS OF A NEW STATEWIDE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. THE SAME THING IS TRUE FOR THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF GEORGIA AND THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHICH RECEIVED SUCH NATIONAL ACLAIM AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION. MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMMER AND MRS. VICTORIA GRAY WHO RAN FOR CONGRESS AND THE SENATE, RESPECTIVELY FOR THE FREEDOM PARTY ARE BOTH CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL PRODUCTS NOW SERVING AS COUNTY SUPERVISORS IN MISSISSIPPI.

NEW AFFILIATES OF SCLC ARE ALSO BEING FORMED IN MANY SMALL TOWNS AND RURAL COMMUNITIES AS AN OUTGROWTH OF CITIZENSHIP CLASSES. SO IN A REAL SENSE THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM CONTINUES TO BE OUR MOST VITAL POSITIVE PROGRAM, MOVING SILENTLY ACROSS THE BLACK BELT OF THE SOUTH, TEACHING, ENCOURAGING AND INSPIRING THE UNDERPRIVILEDGED MASSES OF OUR SOCIETY WITH A TECHNIQUE AND A VISION OF FREEDOM.

OPERATION BREADBASKET

ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC AND CREATIVE PHASES OF OUR PROGRAM HAS BEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHAT IS KNOWN AS OPERATION BREADBASKET. THIS IS A PROGRAM WHICH HAS AS ITS AIM THE SECURING OF MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE. THE SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAM GROWS OUT OF THE FACT THAT THE NEGRO IS A KEY FACTOR IN THE CONSUMING COMMUNITY AND THAT HE NOW HAS A COLLECTIVE BUYING POWER OF ABOUT 30 BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR. THIS MEANS THAT THE NEGRO BUYING DOLLAR CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROFIT AND LOSS IN ALMOST ANY INDUSTRY IN OUR COUNTRY. SO OPERATION BREADBASKET IS A PROGRAM WHICH CALLS FOR SUPPORT

OF THOSE BUSINESSES THAT WILL GIVE A FAIR SHARE OF THE JOBS AND ECONOMIC WITHDRAWAL FROM THOSE BUSINESSES THAT HAVE DISCRIMINATORY POLICIES. THE KEY WORD IN OPERATION BREADBASKET IS RESPECT: IT SAYS IN SUBSTANCE, IF YOU RESPECT MY DOLLARS YOU MUST RESPECT MY PERSON. IF YOU RESPECT MY QUANTITATIVE SUPPORT, THEN YOU MUST RESPECT THE QUALITY OF MY JOB, AND MY BASIC MATERIAL NEEDS. IN SHORT, THIS PROGRAM SAYS YOU HAVE A MORAL OBLIGATION TO REFUSE TO USE YOUR DOLLARS TO PERPETUATE SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

THE MOST SUCCESSFUL SOUTHERN EXPRESSION OF OPERATION BREADBASKET HAS BEEN THE JOB DONE BY OUR ATLANTA AFFILIATE. UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF RALPH ABERNATHY, JOSEPH GRIER, OLIVER HOLMES AND OTHERS FAR TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION, A MARVELOUS PROGRAM HAS BEEN DEVELOPED. THEY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO UNLOCK EIGHTY SEALED DOORS OF DISCRIMINATION AND MAKE THAT POSSIBLE AND EVEN EASY WHICH A FEW YEARS AGO APPEARED TO BE DIFFICULT AND IMPOSSIBLE. IN LESS THAN TWO YEARS THEY HAVE ADDED MORE THAN TWO MILLION DOLLARS TO THE ATLANTA NEGROES' INCOME BY SECURING NEW AND UPGRADED JOBS THAT HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN CLOSED TO THEM.

OPERATION BREADBASKET IS A GREAT PROGRAM. THE NEED FACING US NOW IS TO BROADEN IT TO COVER ALL OF OUR AFFILIATES, AND INDEED LIFT IT TO THE NATIONAL ARENA WHICH WILL GIVE IT ADDED POWER IN GRAPPLING WITH THE NOTORIOUS PROBLEM OF JOB INEQUALITY.

OPERATION DIALOGUE

SCLD INTRODUCED A NEW DEPARTMENT IN THE PAST FEW MONTHS. MORE AND MORE WE HAVE COME TO REALIZE THAT THE NEGRO NEEDS ALLIES IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY IF WE ARE TO EFFECT PERMANENT SOCIAL CHANGE. OUR EXPERIENCE IN PAST YEARS HAS INDICATED THAT A COALITION OF NEGRO CITIZENS AND WHITE PERSONS OF GOOD WILL MUST WORK TOGETHER. NOW HARRY BOYTE, OF OUR STAFF, HAS BEEN ASSIGNED TO EXPLORE AVENUES OF COMMUNICATION AMONG THE MANY WHITE PEOPLE WHO ARE RESPONDING TO OUR CALL TO CONSCIENCE OF THE RACE QUESTION. ALREADY HE HAS HAD SIGNIFICANT RESULTS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND FLORIDA.

OFFICE ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF CHANGES

OUR STAFF CONTINUES TO DEVELOP AND TO GROW ACCORDING TO THE DEMANDS OF THE TIMES. PRESENTLY WE ARE OPERATING WITH A STAFF OF 62 FULL TIME PERSONS, ALONG WITH 15 PART TIME WORKERS WHO FALL UNDER THE CATEGORY OF VOLUNTEER AND REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES. THIS STAFF HAS PERFORMED EXTRAORDINARILY WELL AMIDST VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES AND TREMENDOUS DEMANDS. GRADUALLY WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF GROWTH FROM AN ORGANIZATION OF 3 TO ONE OF 62 IN A FEW YEARS TIME. WE HAVE NOT YET MASTERED OUR JOB, BUT WE ARE GAINING IN OUR PURSUIT OF THE KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE EXCELLENCE WHICH A MOVEMENT SUCH AS THIS DEMANDS.

OUR MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGE REVOLVED AROUND THE LEAVE OF ABSENCE OF OUR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WHATT TEE WALKER. WYATT NURTURED THE ORGANIZATION THROUGH SOME OF ITS MOST DIFFICULT DAYS AND GAVE BRILLIANT LEADERSHIP TO THE NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE FROM THE SIT-INS THROUGH THE FREEDOM RIDES, MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA, ALBANY, GEORGIA, AND BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA. HIS ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP CARRIED US FROM MEAGER BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT WORLD-RENOWNED ORGANIZATION WHICH WE NOW WITNESS. I PERSONALLY MUST ATTEST TO THE GREAT HELP HE HAS GIVEN TO ME DURING THESE YEARS FROM 1960 TO 1964.

WYATT HAS GONE ON TO ONE OF THE NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM AS HE SEEKS TO WORK AGAINST THE CULTURAL BLACKOUT WHICH HAS DEPRIVED NEGROES OF A SENSEOF HISTORY AND HERITAGE. HE IS NOW SERVING AS VICE PRESIDENT OF EDUCATIONAL HERITAGE AND WORKING ON AN ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF NEGRO LIFE.

GOD MUST BE WITH US, FOR YOU DON'T FIND REPLACEMENTS FOR A WYATT TEE WALKER VERY EASILY. HOWEVER, OUR NEEDS HAVE BEEN MET IN MOST ADEQUATE FASHION BY A SERIES OF MOVES AND THE ADDITION TO THE STAFF OF RANDOLPH BLACKWELL AS PROGRAM CO-ORDINATOR. HOSEA WILLIAMS HAS MOVED TO ATLANTA AND NOW SERVES AS DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL ACTION. JAMES BEVEL HAS ASSUMED DUTIES AS DIRECTOR OF DIRECT ACTION, AND ANDREW YOUNG FILLS IN AS EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT. ALL OF THESE MEN ARE DEDICATED, BRILLIANT, AND SOLIDLY COMMITTED TO CAUSE WHICH WE REPRESENT.

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OUR FIELD STAFF HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED THROUGH THE ADDITION OF MRS. BERNICE ROBINSON IN SOUTH CAROLINA, REV. SAMUEL WELLS IN GEORGIA, AND MISS ADELE CANTOR AS OUR NEW YORK FUND-RAISER, AND NUMEROUS ADDITIONS TO THE CATAGORY OF SUBSISTENCE WORKERS.

IN PUBLIC RELATIONS WE HAVE MANAGED TO CONTINUE TO FOCUS ATTENTION TO THE NEEDS OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE THROUGH PUBLICISING THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR ORGANIZATION. THIS YEAR WE COMPLETED AN INTERPRETIVE JOURNAL, THE SCLC STORY. OUR PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR, ED CLAYTON, DID A MATCHLESS JOB IN COMPILING THIS USEFUL DOCUMENT. TO DATE WE HAVE DISTRIBUTED MORE THAN 40,000 COPIES. THE RESPONSE TO THE BOOKLET HAS BEEN VERY GOOD, AND WE STILL URGE EACH AFFILIATE TO SELL AS MANY COPIES AS POSSIBLE.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

THIS, IN BRIEF, IS AN ACCOUNT OF SCLC'S WORK OVER THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS. IT IS A RECORD OF WHICH WE CAN ALL BE PROUD, AND ONE THAT BRINGS ALL OF US CLOSER TO THE GOAL OF FREEDOM. BUT WE CANNOT REST CONTENT ON THE LAURELS OF PAST ACHIEVEMENTS. BRIGHT YESTERDAYS MUST BE TRANSFORMED INTO EVEN BRIGHTER TOMORROWS. IT IS TRUE THAT, BY AND LARGE, WE HAVE LEFT THE DUSTY SOILS OF EGYPT AND CROSSED A RED SEA WHOSE WATERS HAD FOR YEARS BEEN HARDENED BY A LONG AND PIERCING WINTER OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE. BUT EVEN AFTER LEAVING EGYPT WE MUST FACE THE HARD FACT THAT A CONFUSING, FRUSTRATING AND BEWILDERING WILDERNESS LIES AHEAD. BEFORE WE REACH THE MAJESTIC SHORES OF THE PROMISED LAND, WE MUST CONFRONT PRODIGIOUS HILLTOPS OF OPPOSITION AND GIGANTIC MOUNTAINS OF INJUSTICE. WE NEED A CHART; WE NEED A COMPASS; INDEED, WE NEED SOME NORTH STAR TO GUIDE US INTO A FUTURE SHROUDED WITH IMPENATRABLE UNCERTAINTIES. WHAT ARE SOME OF THE NEW DIRECTIONS THAT THE MOVEMENT MUST TAKE?

DEMONSTRATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTION

THE SCLC MUST REAFFIRM ITS ALLEGIANCE TO THE TIME HONORED TACTICS AND STRATEGIES THAT HAVE SERVED US SO WELL IN THE PAST TEN YEARS.

WHEN IT IS APPROPRIATE, WE WILL ENCOURAGE SIT-IN'S, PRAY-IN'S, BOYCOTT'S, PIEKET LINES, MARCHES, CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ANY FORM OF PROTEST AND DEMONSTRATIONS THAT ARE NON-VIOLENTLY CONCEIVED AND EXECUTED.

AT THE SAME TIME WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY AND PROTEST IS A RELATIVE RIGHT SUBJECT TO REGULATIONS TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF OTHERs. CITIZENS DO NOT HAVE THE MORAL OR POLITICAL RIGHT TO DREAM UP OR TO ENGAGE IN FANTASTIC GIMMICKS TO AROUSE PUBLIC ATTENTION THAT MAY CAUSE INJURY OR POSSIBLE DEATH TO OTHER CITIZENS, EVEN TO ADVANCE A JUST CAUSE. NO CITIZEN HAS THE RIGHT TO ENGAGE IN RIOTING, CIVIL DISORDER, OR HULIGANISM IN A DEMOCRACY NO MATTER HOW GRAVE HIS GRIEVANCES.

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BEYOND THE DEMONSTRATIONS ARE TACTICS, NOT PRINCIPLES. THEY ARE NEITHER SACRED NOR ETERNAL. TACTICS ARE TO BE USED ONLY SO LONG AS THEY ARE EFFECTIVE IN ACHIEVING SPECIFIC GOALS. THEY SHOULD BE SUBJECTED TO FREQUENT ANALYSIS, REVIEW AND EVALUATION. TACTICS MUST BE MODIFIED IN RESPONSE TO THE EVER CHANGING SITUATIONS THAT CONFRONT US.

IN THE PAST OUR DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS HAVE BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY WERE UNIQUE IN DOING THREE THINGS:

FIRST, THEY CALLED ATTENTION TO THE EVIL.

SECONDLY, THEY AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY.

THIRD, THEY ELIMINATED THE EVIL ITSELF WHEN MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN STOOD FIRM AND ACCEPTED WHAT CAME.

HOWEVER, FOLLOWING THE PASSAGE OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, WHICH HAS SO PROFOUNDLY EFFECTED PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS IN THE SOUTH, OUR ATTENTION OF NECESSITY MUST NOW ENCOMPASS MANY AREAS BEYOND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. THESE INCLUDE JOBS, ELIMINATION OF SLUMS AND QUALITY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS.

WHILE DEMONSTRATIONS OF OLD AND NEW VARIETIES WILL NO DOUBT CONTINUE TO PLAY A VITAL ROLE IN THIS NEW PERIOD, WE MUST CLEARLY SEE DEMONSTRATIONS IN LIGHT OF THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION WE NOW FIND OURSELVES THRUST INTO.

IN FACING THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN SECURING DECENT HOUSING, ADEQUATE JOBS AND QUALITY-INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, WE MUST REALIZE THAT DEMONSTRATIONS IN MOST CASES CAN ONLY DO TWO THINGS:

ONE, CALL ATTENTION TO THE EVIL.

TWO, AROUSE THE CONSCIENCE OF THE COMMUNITY, BUT UNLIKE OUR EXPERIENCE WITH PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS - SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS ARE NOT A PROGRAM FOR REMOVING THE EVIL ITSELF. THESE AREAS REQUIRE POLITICAL ACTION, FOR WE ARE NOW FACING BASIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRE POLITICAL REFORM.

FOR EXAMPLE, DEMONSTRATIONS CAN BE USEFUL IN CALLING ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT NEGROES ARE TRAGICALLY UNEMPLOYED. BUT SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS ARE NOT A PROGRAM, OR A MEANS FOR OBTAINING JOBS. SUCH A PROGRAM CALLS FOR POLITICAL ACTION. IT CALLS FOR POLITICAL ACTION TO REALIZE TWO OBJECTIVES:

ONE, BILLIONS OF DOLLARS ARE NEEDED TO ENSURE FULL AND FAIR EMPLOYMENT. THIS IS FAR MORE THAN A DEMONSTRATION. THIS IS A QUESTION OF CREATING POLITICAL POWER TO INDUCE CONGRESS TO APPROPRIATE SUCH A SUM OF MONEY. Secondly NEGRO PEOPLE DO NOT THEMSELVES POSSESS THE POLITICAL POWER TO CREATE FULL EMPLOYMENT ALONE. WE MUST ADD OUR POLITICAL POWER TO THAT OF OTHER GROUPS (THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITITES, CATHOLIC, PROTESTANT AND JEWISH, TO LABOR, TO THE LIBERALS AND INTELLECTUALS) IN ORDER TO CREATE A BROAD AND STRONG POLITICAL FORCE TO ENSURE POSITIVE ACTION.

IN LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL DEMANDS OF THE NEW SITUATION IN THE AUTUMN OF 1964, PERHAPS THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTION WE CAN MAKE TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, AND TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS THIS: WE MUST REJECT RIGIDITY. WE MUST RENOUNCE THE REHEARSED RESPONSE. WE MUST REMAIN ETERNALLY OPEN TO NEW IDEAS AND TO NEW TACTICS AND STRATEGIES.

AS GANDHI REALIZED AND STATED SO WELL - "NON-VIOLENCE IS THE EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH" AND IF WE ARE TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO TRUTH AND TO NON-VIOLENCE, WE MUST BE "AS LITTLE CHILDREN" THAT IS AJUSTABLE, PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN EXPLORATION AND EXPERIMENT.

NB ✓

WAR ON POVERTY

SCLC AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT GENERALLY MUST VIGOROUSLY JOIN THE WAR AGAINST POVERTY. THE NEWLY ENACTED CIVIL RIGHTS BILL BRINGS THE AMERICAN NEGRO TO THE THRESHOLD OF BECOMING A FIRST CLASS PARTICIPANT IN OUR SOCIETY. BUT UNTIL HE CAN BE RELEASED FROM ECONOMIC PRIVATION HE CANNOT FULLY BE DEEMED LIBERATED. NEGROES ARE STILL AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ECONOMIC LADDER. THEY ARE CHAINED TO THE LOWEST RUNG BY A DOUBLE LOCK: ONE IMPRISONS THEM ON THE BASIS OF COLOR WHILE THE SECOND BINDS THEM TO A CULTURE OF POVERTY. NB

OUR AFFLUENT NATION IS EXPERIENCING A COMPLEX MANPOWER REVOLUTION, DRAMATIC SHIFTS IN THE COMPOSITION OF LABOR FORCE, INCREASING RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND RISING EDUCATIONAL AND SKILL REQUIREMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME, AUTOMATION IS ELIMINATING JOBS FROM OUR ECONOMY AT THE RATE OF FORTY THOUSAND PER WEEK OR TWO MILLION EIGHTY THOUSAND A YEAR. WHILE TECHNOLOGICAL FORCES AND STRUCTURAL UNEMPLOYMENT BROUGHT ABOUT BY AUTOMATION ARE COLORBLIND, THE OBJECTIVE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN SOCIETY CAUSES HIM AS A GROUP TO BE HARDEST HIT BY AUTOMATION. NB

POVERTY IN AMERICA TENDS TO BE CONCENTRATED AMONG DISADVANTAGED GROUPS. ONE-HALF OF ALL NEGRO FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES ARE POOR BY THE $3,000.00 ANNUAL INCOME DEFINITION. YET WE MAKE UP ONLY 22 PERCENT OF THE OVER-ALL NINE MILLION POOR FAMILIES. IN 1962, ALMOST ONE OUT OF THREE NON-WHITE WORKERS HAD NOT COMPLETED ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS COMPARED WITH ONE IN TEN AMONG WHITES. A FIFTH OF NON-WHITE AND A THIRD OF WHITES HAD FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL. IN 1959, THE MEDIAN ANNUAL INCOME OF ALL THE WHITE POPULATION WHO HAD INCOME WAS $3,207.00 WHEREAS FOR NEGROES IT WAS SLIGHTLY OVER $1,518.00. THE AVERAGE NEGRO WITH FOUR YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION CAN EXPECT TO EARN LESS IN HIS LIFETIME THAN THE WHITE EIGHTH GRADE DROP OUT. IN SHORT, NEGROES IN AMERICA ARE UNEMPLOYED THE LONGEST, HAVE LOWER EARNINGS WHEN THEY ARE EMPLOYED, AND HAVE LESS EDUCATION

AND ON THE AVERAGE BENEFIT LESS FINANCIALLY FROM THE EDUCATION THEY DO ATTAIN.

CONGRESSMAN McCULLOCH'S REPORT (HR 914, PART 2) SUCCINCTLY CORROBORATES THE DEPLORABLE FACTS CONCERNING NEGRO POVERTY. I QUOTE FROM P. 27 OF THAT REPORT:

"IN 1962, NONWHITES MADE UP 11 PERCENT OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BUT 22 PERCENT OF THE UNEMPLOYED. APPROXIMATELY 900,000 NONWHITES WERE WITHOUT JOBS DURING THE YEAR--THEREBY CONSTITUTING AN UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF 11 PERCENT. THIS WAS MORE THAN TWICE THE RATE OF WHITE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS. THE BREAKDOWN AMONG AGE, SEX, AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES IS EVEN MORE STRIKING. MOREOVER, AMONG NEGROES WHO ARE EMPLOYED, THEIR JOBS ARE LARGELY CONCENTRATED AMONG THE SEMISKILLED AND UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS. THIS HAS THE EFFECT OF SEVERELY RETARDING THE ECONOMIC STANDARDS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION. LIKEWISE, CONCENTRATION AT THE LOWER LEVELS OF EMPLOYMENT HEIGHTENS THE CHANCES OF EARLY AND LONG DURATION LAYOFFS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY EVIDENT TODAY WITH THE RAPID UPGRADING OF JOB SKILLS WHICH IS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH AUTOMATION.

SADLY I FIND THAT THE TREND IS TOWARD EVER INCREASING NEGRO UNEMPLOYMENT. IT IS IRONIC THAT ON THE VERY DAY WHEN THE PRESIDENT SIGNED THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, JULY 2, 1964, THE LABOR DEPARTMENT RELEASED THE FACT THAT THE NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE HAD INCREASED IN JUNE FROM 5.1 to 5.3 PERCENT. IN HUMAN TERMS, PEOPLE NOT PERCENTAGES, THIS REPRESENTED AN INCREASE OF ONE MILLION ONE HUNDRED PERSONS, OF WHICH ABOUT ONE-FOURTH ARE NEGRO.

THE NEGRO TODAY IS NOT STRUGGLING FOR SOME ABSTRACT, VAGUE RIGHTS, BUT FOR CONCRETE AND PROMPT IMPROVEMENT IN HIS WAY OF LIFE. WHAT WILL IT PROFIT HIM TO BE ABLE TO SEND HIS CHILDREN TO AN INTEGRATED SCHOOL IF THE FAMILY INCOME IS INSUFFICIENT TO BUY THEM SCHOOL CLOTHES? WHAT WILL HE GAIN BY BEING PERMITTED TO MOVE TO AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD IF HE CANNOT AFFORD TO DO SO BECAUSE HE IS UNEMPLOYED OR HAS A LOW-PAYING JOB WITH NO FUTURE? OF WHAT ADVANTAGE IS IT TO THE NEGRO TO ESTABLISH THAT HE CAN BE SERVED IN INTEGRATED

RESTAURANTS OR ACCOMMODATED IN INTEGRATED HOTELS, IF HE IS BOUND TO THE KIND OF FINANCIAL SERVITUDE WHICH WILL NOT ALLOW HIM TO TAKE A VACATION OR EVEN TO TAKE HIS WIFE OUT TO DINE? NEGROES MUST NOT ONLY HAVE THE RIGHT TO GO INTO ANY ESTABLISHMENT OPEN TO THE PUBLIC, BUT THEY MUST ALSO BE ABSORBED INTO OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN SUCH A MANNER THAT THEY CAN AFFORD TO EXERCISE THAT RIGHT.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS IS, AT BOTTOM, A STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITIES. IN ASKING FOR OPPORTUNITY, THE NEGRO IS NOT SEEKING CHARITY. HE DOES NOT WANT TO LANGUISH ON WELFARE ROLLS ANY MORE THAN THE NEXT MAN. HE DOES NOT WANT TO BE GIVEN A JOB HE CANNOT HANDLE. NEITHER, HOWEVER, DOES HE WANT TO BE TOLD THAT THERE IS NO PLACE WHERE HE CAN BE TRAINED TO HANDLE IT. SO WITH EQUAL OPPORTUNITY MUST COME THE PRACTICAL, REALISTIC AID WHICH WILL EQUIP HIM TO SEIZE IT. GIVING A PAIR OF SHOES TO A MAN WHO HAS NOT LEARNED TO WALK IS A CRUEL JEST.

TO BETTER UNDERSTAND ONE OF THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE OUTBREAK OF RIOTS AND THE SELF-CONTAINED RESENTMENT OF MILLIONS OF NEGROES WHO LOOM SO LARGE IN THE GRUESOME STATISTICS OF UNEMPLOYMENT, AUTOMATION AND POVERTY, ONE MUST ASSUME THAT THE NEGRO READS AND HEARS ABOUT AMERICA'S UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY. GLISTENING TOWERS OF GLASS AND STEEL EASILY SEEN FROM THE GHETTO SPRING UP ALMOST OVERNIGHT. JET LINERS SPEED OVER THE GHETTOES AT SIX HUNDRED MILES AN HOUR; SATELLITES STREAK THROUGH OUTER SPACE AND REVEAL DETAILS OF THE MOON. BUT NINETY PERCENT OF THE NATION IS IGNORANT OF THE DETAILS OF GHETTO LIFE ON EARTH. PRESIDENT JOHNSON, IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, EMPHASIZED THIS CONTRADICTION WHEN HE HERALDED THE UNITED STATES' "HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE WORLD: AND DEPLORED THAT IT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY DISLOCATIONS, LOSS OF JOBS AND THE SPECTER OF POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY."

AMIDST THIS AFFLUENCE, THE NEGRO LIVES MOSTLY IN THIS SICK CULTURE OF INCREASING POVERTY. HE BECOMES CYNICAL AND SKEPTICAL ABOUT "WARS ON POVERTY" WHEN HE READS ABOUT EXPENDITURES TO PHOTOGRAPH THE MOON WHICH ARE MANY-FOLD

LARGER THAN THE COST OF THE ANTI-POVERTY BILL BEFORE CONGRESS. HE READS THE NEW YORK TIMES OF JULY 24, 1964, AND LEARNS THAT THE SENATE PASSED AN ANTI-POVERTY BILL WHICH PROPOSES TO SPEND $947,000.00 AND ON THE SAME FRONT PAGE OF THE TIMES HE READS THAT FOR ONLY SIX MONTHS OF THIS YEAR GENERAL MOTORS ANNOUNCED AN AFTER TAX PROFIT OF ONE BILLION 138 MILLION DOLLARS: FORD 324 MILLION AND CHRYSLER 114 MILLION--MAKING AN AGGREGATE FOR THESE THREE AUTO PRODUCERS OF ONE BILLION 676 MILLION DOLLARS. IN THIS RICH LAND, WHERE ONLY THREE OF OUR MANY RICH CORPORATIONS REPORTED SUCH PROFITS FOR HALF A YEAR THE GOVERNMENT WAS FIGHTING HARD TO ADOPT A MEASURE TO SPEND A LITTLE MORE THAN HALF OF THAT PROFIT. THIS 947 MILLION AS A WAR ON POVERTY AMOUNTED TO $23.67 FOR EACH OF THE 40 MILLION OF ADMITTED POOR!

I AM NOT HERE TO OPPOSE THE WAR ON POVERTY. I WELCOME A CAUTIOUS BEGINNING IF IT IS THE START, NOT THE END, OF THE PROGRAM. A REAL WAR REQUIRES FULL MOBILIZATION OF ALL RESOURCES. IT NEEDS AN OFFENSIVE FORCE WHICH MOVES WITH LIGHTNING SPEED.

ONLY A FEW MONTHS AGO, WE WITNESSED HOW THIS NATION CAN RESPOND. TO A CRISIS. WITHIN HOURS AFTER THE EVENTS IN THE GULD OF TONKIN, THE RESOURCES OF THE MILITARY WERE DIRECTED DRAMATICALLY AND QUICKLY RIGHT AT THE TARGET. NO ONE PAUSED TO FIGURE THE DOLLARS AND CENTS COST. THE MILITARY, CONGRESS AND EVEN THE UN WERE MOBILIZED.

IF THE NEGRO EXPECTS THIS TYPE OF MOBILIZATION FOR A WAR AGAINST POVERTY IS HE ASKING FAR TOO MUCH? DID NOT THE PRESIDENT IN HIS 1964 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE PLEDGE A FAR-REACHING WAR NOT ONLY TO "RELIEVE THE SYMPTOMS OF POVERTY, BUT TO CURE IT AND ABOVE ALL PREVENT IT."

THE AGGRESSION OF THE FORCES OF POVERTY MUST BE MET WITH A FULL SCALE WAR, IF THE VICTIMS OF THIS AGGRESSION, NEGRO AND WHITE ALIKE, REPRESENTING AT LEAST ONE-FIFTH OF THIS NATION, ARE TO FEEL THEY ARE PARTNERS IN THIS LAND OF OPPORTUNITY.

ONE ENCOUNTERS THESE DAYS A MOST MISCHIEVOUS APPROACH TO THE ISSUE OF POVERTY. APPEALING TO DEEP ROOTED PREJUDICE IT SUGGESTS THAT THE WAR ON POVERTY IS SOLELY TO AID THE COLORED POOR; THAT IT IS JUST A PART OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE. IN TRUTH, OF THE 9.3 MILLION FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY THE GOVERNMENT AS POOR, 7.3 MILLION OR 78 PERCENT ARE WHITE AND 2 MILLION OR 22 PERCENT ARE NON-WHITE.

The Poor

WE UNDERSTAND WHAT MOTIVATES THIS MISCHIEF. WITH EACH DAY IT BECOMES CLEARER TO THOSE OF US WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS THAT THE SOLUTION TO OUR FULL CITIZENSHIP, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC, CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY THE NEGRO OR CIVIL RIGHTS FORCES ALONE.

WE ARE PAINFULLY AWARE THAT IF ALL DISCRIMINATORY LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES WERE IMMEDIATELY REPEALED--AS THEY SHOULD BE--IF THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL WERE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED--AS IT MUST BE--THE ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED CONDITION OF THE NEGRO, THE HISTORIC AND INSTITUTIONALIZED CONSEQUENCE OF COLOR, WILL REMAIN UNLESS THE NEGRO REVOLUTION BUILDS AND MAINTAINS ALLIANCES WITH THE MAJORITY OF WHITE COMMUNITY, ALLIANCES WITH A BASIC GOAL--THE ELIMINATION OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY. ONLY THROUGH SUCH AN ALLIANCE WILL BOTH THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT AND THE WHITE COMMUNITY, NORTH, SOUTH, EAST AND WEST, TOGETHER IN PARTNERSHIP BE ABLE TO CONSTRUCTIVELY MAKE A MASSIVE ASSAULT UPON SLUMS, INFERIOR EDUCATION, INADEQUATE MEDICSL CARE, THE ENTIRE CULTURE OF POVERTY.

THE STATESMANSHIP FOR SUCH A CREATIVE PROGRAM WILL CALL FOR A HIGH ORDER OF NATIONAL LEADERS. EVEN MORE IT WILL CALL FOR AN ALERT PEOPLE WHO WANT TO MAKE SECURITY AND JUSTICE A NATIONAL GOAL. WHEN THIS NATION BEGAN IN A WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE ON A NARROW STRIP OF THE EASTERN SEABORAD WITH WILDERNESS STRETCHING THREE THOUSAND MILES WEST, THE PROBLEMS WERE FAR GREATER THAN THOSE WE HAVE TODAY. THE DESCENDANTS OF THOSE WHO SOLVED THOSE PROBLEMS HAVE THE CAPACITY TO SOLVE THOSE OF THE PRESENT.

THESE THEN ARE THE "NEW DIRECTIONS" WHICH OUR MOVEMENT MUST TAKE; THIS IS THE ROAD WE MUST TRAVEL FROM THIS JUNCTURE IN OUR ON-GOING

STRUGGLE. WE ARE ON THE MOVE NOW AND NO WAVE OF RIGHT WING EXTREMISM CAN STOP US. WE ARE ON THE MOVE AND THE BURINING OF OUR CHURCHES WILL NOT DETER US; THE BOMBING OF OUR HOMES WILL NOT DISSUADE US; THE BEATING AND KILLING OF OUR YOUNG PEOPLE WILL NOT DIVERT US; THE WANTON RELEASE OF THEIR KNOWN MURDERS WILL NOT DISCOURAGE US. WE ARE ON THE MOVE NOW AND LIKE AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME, NOT EVEN THE MARCHING OF MIGHTY ARMIES CAN HALT US.

LET US THEREFORE RESOLVE TO CONTINUE OUR TRIUMPHANT MARCH TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.

LET US MARCH ON SEGREGATED HOUSING UNTIL EVERY GHETTO OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OPPRESSION IS DISSOLVED AND NEGROES AND WHITES LIVE SIDE BY SIDE IN DECENT, SAFE AND SANITARY HOUSING. LET US MARCH ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS UNTIL EVERY VESTIGE OF SEGREGATED AND INFERIOR EDUCATION BECOMES A THING OF THE PAST AND NEGRO AND WHITE STUDY SIDE BY SIDE IN THE SOCIALLY HEALING CONTEXT OF THE CLASSROOM.

LET US MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL NO AMERICAN PARENT HAS TO SKIP A MEAL SO THAT THEIR CHILDREN MAY EAT: MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL NO WORK-STARVED MAN WALKS THE STREETS OF OUR CITIES AND TOWNS IN SEARCH OF JOBS THAT DO NOT EXIST. LET US MARCH ON POVERTY UNTIL WRINKLED STOMACHS IN MISSISSIPPI ARE FILLED AND THE IDLED INDUSTRIES OF APPALACHIA ARE REVITALIZED AND BROKEN LIVES IN SWELTERING GHETTOES ARE MENDED AND REMOLDED.

LET US MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES. MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL RACE BAITERS DISAPPEAR FROM THE POLITICAL ARENA; MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL WALLACES AND GOLDWATERITES TREMBLE AWAY INTO SILENCE. MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL WE SEND TO OUR CITY COUNCILS, STATE LEGISLATURES AND U. S. CONGRESS AMBASSADORS OF GOOD WILL, MEN WHO WILL NOT FEAR TO DO JUSTLY, LOVE MERCY, AND WALK HUMBLY WITH THEIR GOD. LET US MARCH ON BALLOT BOXES UNTIL BROTHERHOOD BECOMES MORE THAN A MEANINGLESS WORD IN AN OPENING PRAYER BUT THE ORDER OF THE DAY ON EVERY LEGISLATIVE AGENDA.

NOW THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH MARCHING IN THIS SENSE. THE BIBLE TELLS US THAT THE MIGHT MEN OF JOSHUA MERELY WALKED ABOUT THE WALLED CITY ~~OF JERICHO~~ AND THE BARRIERS TO FREEDOM CAME TUMBLING DOWN. I LIKE THAT OLD NEGRO SPIRITUAL "JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN'JERICHO." IN ITS SIMPLE YET COLORFUL DEPICTION OF THAT GREAT MOMENT IN BIBLICAL HISTORY IT TELLS US THAT "JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN' JERICHO"

JOSHUA FIT THE BATTLE ROUN'JERICHO
JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN' JERICHO
JOSHUA FIT DE BATTLE ROUN' JERICHO
AND DE WALLS COME TUMBLING DOWN.

UP TO THE WALLS OF JERICHO, DEY MARCHED WID SPEAR IN HAN'
GO BLOW DEM RAM HORNS JOSHUA CRIED, CAUSE DE BATTLE AM IN MY HAN'.

THESE WORDS I HAVE GIVEN YOU JUST AS THEY WERE GIVEN US BY THEIR UNKNOWN, LONG DEAD, DARK-SKINNED ORIGINATOR. SOME NOW LONG GONE BLACK BARD BEQUEATHED TO POSTERITY THESE WORDS, IN UNGRAMMATICAL FORM, YET WITH EMPHATIC PERTINENCE FOR ALL OF US TODAY. THE BATTLE IS IN OUR HANDS. WE CAN ANSWER WITH CREATIVE NON-VIOLENCE THE CALL TO HIGHER GROUND TO WHICH THE NEW DIRECTIONS OF OUR STRUGGLE SUMMON US.

THE ROAD AHEAD IS NOT A SMOOTH ONE. THERE ARE NO BROAD HIGHWAYS THAT LEAD EASILY AND INEVITABLY TO QUICK SOLUTIONS, AND IT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE OF US IF WE WERE TO INDICATE THAT THERE WERE. INSTEAD, THE COURSE WE MUST FOLLOW LIES THROUGH A MAZE OF INTERRELATED DEMANDS AND COUNTERDEMANDS, HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS, FEARS AND HATES. BUT DIFFICULT AND PAINFUL AS IT IS, SUCH A COURSE MUST BE CHARTED AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MUST WALK IT WITH THE COURAGE AND DIGNITY OF OUR PAST ACHIEVEMENTS.

IN THE GLOW OF LAMPLIGHT ON MY DESK A FEW NIGHTS AGO, I GAZED AGAIN UPON THE WONDROUS SIGNS OF OUR TIME, FULL OF HOPE AND PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE. AND I SMILED TO SEE IN THE NEWSPAPER PHOTOGRAPHS OF NEARLY A DECADE AGO, THE FACES SO BRIGHT, SO SOLUMN OF OUR VALIENT HEROES, THE PEOPLE OF MONTGOMERY. THEIR NAMES ARE ROSA PARKS, RALPH AND JUANITA ABERNATHY, SOLOMON SEAY, ERNA DUNGEE, ADESSA WILLIAMS, HAZEL GREGORY, ROBERT NESBITT, H. J. PALMER, GEORGIA GILMORE, FRANCIS POLLARD, THE EIGHTY YEAR OLD WOMAN WHO GAVE US "MY FEETS IS TIRED, BUT MA SOUL IS A-RESTIN'" AND TO THIS LIST MAY BE ADDED THE NAMES OF ALL THOSE WHO HAVE FOUGHT AND YES, DIED, IN THE NON-VIOLENT ARMY OF OUR DAY. THE PATTER OF THEIR FEET AS THEY WALKED THROUGH JIM CROW BARRIERS IN THE GREAT STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, IS THE THUNDER OF THE MARCHING MEN OF JOSHUA AND THE WORLD ROCKS BENEATH THEIR TREAD.

MY PEOPLE, MY PEOPLE LISTEN - LISTEN - THE BATTLE IS IN OUR HANDS.

Entertainment

7:30 P.M.

Lionel Hampton & Orchestra

David Dunson

Joe Williams

Billie Poole

Billy Rowe
Master of Ceremonies

Jim Randolph

Brock Peters

Haryou Cadet's Band

Piano Courtesy Baldwin Piano Co.

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Congress of Racial Equality

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N.A.A.C.P.

Nat'l Council of Negro
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Women's Clubs

Nat'l Council of Negro Women

Negro American Labor Council

Protestant Council of City of
New York (Upper Manhattan)

The Grand Lodge of the
I.B.P.O.E. of W.

The Grand Temple of the
I.B.P.O.E. of W.

United Catholic Parishes and
Organizations of Harlem

United Council of Harlem
Organizations

Uptown Chamber of Commerce

Urban League of Greater
New York

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Program

NATIONAL ANTHEM	Miss Janette Brown *Faith Temple Choir*
INVOCATION	The Very Rev. Monsgr. Gregory L. Mooney *Director Kennedy Community Center*
INTRODUCTION OF CHAIRMAN	Commissioner Cleveland Robinson *Secy. Treas. Dist. 65 AFL-CIO*
OPENING REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN	A. Phillip Randolph *Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters AFL-CIO* *Nat'l President Negro Amer. Labor Council*
REMARKS	Rev. William E. Gardiner *Pres. Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N. Y. and Vicinity*
REMARKS	Rabbi Max Schenk *Pres. N. Y. Board of Rabbis*
REMARKS	Hon. Robert F. Wagner *Mayor, New York City*
SELECTION	Faith Temple Choir *Conductor — Prof. Herman Stevens*
REMARKS	Roy Wilkins *Exec. Secy. N.A.A.C.P.*
REMARKS	Jackie Robinson *Chairman of the Board, Freedom Nat'l Bank*
REMARKS	Whitney Young *Exec. Dir. Nat'l Urban League*
SOLOIST	Camilla Williams, *Concert Artist*
DRAMATIC PRESENTATION	Ossie Davis & Ruby Dee *Stars of Stage & TV*
REMARKS	Ralph Beaton, *representing Youth of the Community and HARYOU-ACT*
REMARKS	James Farmer, *Nat'l Director Congress of Racial Equality*
REMARKS	Hon. Nelson Rockefeller *Governor, State of New York*
SELECTION	Faith Temple Choir
INTRODUCTION OF HONOREE	Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey *Vice President-elect of the U. S.*
HONOREE	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. *Nobel Peace Prize Winner* *Pres. Southern Christian Leadership Conference*
PRESENTATION TO HONOREE	Miss Dorothy Height *Pres. Nat'l Council of Negro Women*
'WE SHALL NOT BE MOVED'	Lead by Faith Temple Choir
BENEDICTION	Father M. Moran Weston, *St. Philips Church*

Coordinator, Commissioner Cleveland Robinson

Community Salute

to

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Nobel Peace Prize Winner

369th Regiment Armory, 142nd St. & Fifth Ave.

New York City

Thursday, December 17, 1964 at 8:30 P.M.

Chairman	Treasurer	Coordinator
MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH	**MR. JACKIE ROBINSON**	**COMM. CLEVELAND ROBINSON**
Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	Chairman of the Board Freedom Nat'l Bank	Secretary-Treasurer District 65

SUBSTITUTING FOR
RABBI MAX SCHENK
PRESIDENT OF THE
New York Board of Rabbis

RABBI WILLIAM BERKOWITZ
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NEW YORK BOARD OF
RABBIS

April 7, 1964

Mr. John Lewis, Chairman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

My dear John:

I have been deeply concerned with a number of recent developments that, undoubtedly, will affect the thinking and action of both Negro and white people in the United States and consequently will affect the course of the civil rights movement's progress and strategy. These developments include:

(a) the emergence in the North of an organized Right whose propaganda and tactics give the appearance of separating many previously committed white people from our movement.

(b) the declared intention of Malcolm X to project a social and political program and his advocacy of rifle clubs. His "ballot or bullets" speech before a 1,000 people several days ago in Harlem requires of us the most careful analysis.

(c) the growth in a number of northern cities of Left totalitarian influence in a number of protest groups.

(d) the rise of demagogic Negro leadership in a number of cities and their determined effort to sow confusion and compound frustration, while offering the Negro masses no concrete alternative.

These developments indicate to me a very real need for the leadership of established civil rights groups to meet, for the purpose

of examining and analyzing these trends and attempting to find a means to combat them.

I, therefore, would like to propose that you, and the individuals listed below as having received a similar letter, meet with me at a mutually agreeable time and place in the near future for a full discussion of these and related matters. Once I have an indication that you and the others feel such a meeting would be helpful, I shall ask my secretary, Miss Wilds, to reach you concerning dates when you will be free.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b

Similar letter to:
Dr. Martin Luther King
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Mr. James Farmer

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
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1964 JUL 31 PM 5 43

CGA240 BC376
B WWY022 WWZ6 WWZ6 GOVT PD FAX WASHINGTON DC 31 NFT
A PHILIP RANDOLPH
230 WEST 150 ST NYK

FOR PLANNING PURPOSES WOULD YOU KINDLY RESERVE SEPTEMBER 14 FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PRESENTATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE. THE CEREMONY WILL PROBABLY COMMENCE AT NOON. DETAILS WILL BE PROVIDED AT AN EARLY DATE

JOHN W MACY JR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DISTINGUISHED CIVILIAN SERVICE AWARDS BOARD

Inaugural Committee

DALE MILLER
Chairman

1965

6th and Independence Ave., S.W.
Washington, D. C. 20025
Telephone: Area 202—783-2858

December 16, 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
230 W 150th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Randolph

On behalf of the President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you, as a recipient of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, an invitation to attend the 1965 Inaugural Ceremony.

Arrangements will be made to reserve a place for you at the Swearing-in ceremony, the parade, and, should you desire, at the Inaugural Ball, all of which are scheduled for January 20.

I would be grateful if you would inform me as soon as possible if you will be able to attend and what your needs will be regarding housing accommodations. If you expect to be accompanied by a member of your family, please let me know so that additional appropriate arrangements may be made.

Sincerely

Leonard H. Marks
Presidential Representative
to the Inaugural Committee

Address reply to: 317 Cafritz Building
Washington, D. C. 20006

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Mort Levi
National Educational Director

Isidore Goodman
Legal Counsel

6 August 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Randolph:

It was like old times spending a couple of hours with you Wednesday, during which time we covered a lot of ground.

I, too, think that the Harlem Youth Program of Powell's looks like 95% waste and graft. I'm sending you a complete layout of the Coliseum program so you will have it Monday. Our program calls for just five million dollars, which includes two million dollars for the Coliseum, (which would cost ten million dollars to build) and one million dollars a year for three years.

I am happy that we agree whole heartedly on the Negro Crime and Delinquency program. Negroes will have to reduce this crime a great deal before the white people will be willing to accept them in open occupancy.

I shall take you by the Coliseum and have you meet Fred Morelli, its owner, the next time you are here.

Be careful down in Mississippi. Shall see you in New York next week when I come to confer with the American Jewish Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Chandler Owen

Enclosures

AN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN A NATIONAL "CRUSADE FOR LITERACY"

TEAMWORK FOUNDATION, INC.
228 N. LA SALLE STREET
372-0229 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601

A PROGRAM FOR TRAINING OF YOUTH, ILLITERATES, FUNCTIONAL ILLITERATES, DROP-OUTS, DELINQUENTS AND OTHER PERSONS WHO ARE UNABLE TO MASTER THE BASIC LITERACY SKILLS

BY MORT LEVI
NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR
TEAMWORK FOUNDATION, INC.

One Phase of Teamwork Foundation's present program is "Crusading for Literacy." The purpose of this crusade is to teach the basic literacy skills, reading, writing, spelling and basic arithmetic to illiterates, public school drop-outs, delinquents and other persons who need improvement in these skills.

Teamwork Foundation offers a program to train youth and adults in the basic literacy skills of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic in order to prepare them for employment and intelligent citizenship.

Purposes and Objectives:

To teach the basic literacy skills, reading, writing and spelling, to those who have the mental capacity to profit from instruction but who lack minimum competency in language skills which prevent them from gaining adequate employment.

To increase the reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic level of all students actively participating in the program.

To stimulate and motivate all participants to re-evaluate the importance of their own educational background through reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic. To improve their place in society by obtaining employment and becoming self-sustaining and self-supporting where it will discourage relief handouts and encourage independent, self-supporting standouts.

To discourage drop-outs from school, who ultimately become drop-outs from church and society. They are the drop-ins in juvenile halls and probationary schools.

Specific Goals:

The ability to fill out an application for employment.

The ability to read forms, labels, fill out forms or write down messages.

The ability to pass a written examination for a driver's license or civil service employment.

The ability to read freeway, road and street signs.

The ability to write a simple letter and address an envelope.

The ability to read the newspapers, magazines and journals in order to become informed on current events.

The ability to read simple directions on the job for one's own safety and for the safety of others.

The ability to fill out simple job and accident reports.

Program Related to Adult and Youth Training and Employment:

Teamwork Foundation, through its program, has proven that young and adult alike, whatever their backgrounds, have the potential of becoming and remaining productive citizens.

The task of Teamwork Foundation is to teach youngsters and adults to develop their potential in areas which pertain to literacy skills applicable to vocational training and employment.

Thousands of our youth and adults are unskilled and unemployed due to inability to read, write or spell. Many have high school diplomas but still lack facility with the English language; many are "drop-outs" who were academically weak and left school because of inability to profit from the school program.

Teamwork Foundation has designed its program to improve the literacy skills of the out of school youth, adult illiterates and delinquents so that they can profit from vocational training and become employable.

Background of Program:

Reading classes have been conducted with great success in California.

Hundreds of students from low socio-economic areas, who were slow learners or who never had benefit of formal schooling, were taught to read, write and spell in a concentrated program of six weeks (or 100 hours) of daily instruction.

Test results show that gains in the structure and mechancis of our language affected measurable improvement in both vocabulary and comprehension in every case.

General Description of Program Offered:

The Teamwork Foundation Program has been specifically organized to solve the specialized problems which readers and spellers have developed where lack of knowledge of basic fundamentals, mechanical and structural facts and skills have impeded their progress.

Where a basal standard reading program (whether it is based on the sight approach or the phonic approach, or a combination of both) starts with the person without a reading problem, the Teamwork Foundation Program assumes that a person has a problem.

Step No. 1 must begin with diagnosis of the problem.

Effective tests are conducted to diagnose and analyze specific reading and spelling problems of a mechanical and structural nature, to determine I.Q. and reading ability. These tests are known as the SPACE Phonic Diagnostic and Analysis Test, California Mental Maturity Test for Intelligence and the California Achievement Test. These tests are given preceding the program and are designed to do a specific job; not only will valuable time and energy be saved, but a basis for measuring progress will be laid. Repeated at intervals after exposure to this program, specific gains in structural skills as related to possible I.Q. changes, reading ability and comprehension can be progressively determined.

To solve the specific problems diagnosed, a special type of organization and system of material arrangement, tools and techniques have been produced.

Teamwork Foundation's program includes more than 500 lessons and lesson plans. The lesson planning is based on the facts of linguistics; they are comprehensive, thoroughly laid out, time saving, and practical. The graded materials are designed from single letters to simple blends of easy three letter words and then mature into more and more complex combinations of letters and syllables.

The program is audio as well as visual.

In the field of MOTIVATION for delinquent readers, public school drop-outs and adult illiterates, Teamwork Foundation has proved that its program is superior to any program yet developed.

Being specific, success can be obtained more quickly and economically. This in itself provides motivation for students.

Step-by-step problems from the most minute to the most complex need can be attacked with a minimum of delay.

Participation in group oral drill tends to relieve the individual's fear and embarrassment. He learns to "hear" his own voice in unison with others who are learning or relearning basic facts of our language.

The programmed step-by-step approach provides easy stepping stones to success which add momentum to motivation.

A kinesthetic program allowing students to trace the letters as they appear on the printed page is a strong motivating factor in maintaining group or individual interest, and also aids in learning how to write.

Teamwork Foundation's program does not claim to be a "cure all." However, for the specific purpose for which it has been designed, and by understanding what it has been designed for, we believe it is the best all around reading and spelling program yet designed.

Teamwork Foundation offers a complete curriculum, including certified teachers, electronic equipment (phonograph and/or tape recorders, plus earphones), plus materials such as teachers' manuals, students' textbooks, phonograph records, tapes, paper and tests.

Teamwork Foundation also provides all administrative and clerical staff necessary to effectively complete the program.

Differentiated teaching is necessary to reach youngsters who have failed to prosper in a regular school curriculum, or who attempted, but failed to learn through standard text books, and those adults who have had little or no formal schooling at all.

Remedial experts agree that while reading, writing and spelling goals remain the same, persons who have failed to absorb the basic standard program, the teaching approach and materials should be simplified.

Teamwork Foundation's "Learn to Read" and basic literacy classes offer that type of program.

Specific Program:

PRETESTING

A. Pre-testing will consist of three tests. Scores to be recorded and correlated with post-test data:

1. Standardized Reading Test
2. Standardized Group Intelligence Test
3. SPACE Phonic Diagnostic and Analysis Test

B. Post-testing at the end of six weeks. As above----- recorded and correlated. Written reports submitted for further study re: expansion of program locally as well as nationally.

C. Audio-Visual-Kinesthetic Materials

1. Students' Texts consist of 2 books entitled "Basic Fundamentals of Reading and Spelling."

2. These books contain 500 lessons and lesson plans arranged from the utmost simplicity to graded complexity. A step-by-step small unit approach to reading and spelling skills has been developed based on the science of linguistics.

3. Students who complete the two books will have a minimum reading and spelling vocabulary of over 6,000 words, with the potential of successfully attacking thousands of additional words and syllables.

4. Articulation and speech is stressed which will be particularly important for bilingual students who need to learn the phonetics of the English language.

5. Special electronic equipment including phonographs, earphones and tape recorders play a vital role in the teaching program. Twenty two phonograph records and tapes are part of the program.

6. One hundred and forty nine stories, graded from simple to more complex, are included in the curriculum and these are organized around special vocabulary study.

7. Additional readers will be provided for those students who will progress beyond the basic texts.

D. Teachers' materials include phonographs, earphones, tape recorders, tapes, 22 phonograph records, "Dictionary of Sounds," Special Indexes, Special Vocabulary Section and Kinesthetic Paper.

Chicago Courier

June 13, 1964

Exploring The Schools

Are Failing Students Being Passed to Relieve Overcrowding?

EDITOR'S NOTE: (A Chicago Courier investigation of Chicago public school teachers, district supervisors, principals, students, parents and Superintendent Benjamin Willis revealed that an alarming number of students (largely Negro) are being promoted even though they fail. Teachers told us that they were instructed to pass a certain number of students to relieve overcrowding, etc. The Chicago Courier asks; “Why promote a student who has not made passing grades? Why are certain teachers told that they have too many failures on their classroom list and to ‘adjust’ it so they have, say, no more than three failures in a class of 35? What are Negro parents doing about this situation? What does Superintendent Willis have to say to the charges? Who gives teachers orders to pass a certain number of students although they do not have passing grades?” The Chicago Courier explores all of these questions and others in the series of articles beginning this week).

BY GEORGE PITTS
(Chicago Courier Editor)
(First in a Series)

A teacher in a large South Side high school shakes his head in disgust. He is not a teacher at all. He has not the liberty to run his classroom by the book. He cannot even fail certain students who have not passed a single examination of his. Why?

“When I send down my list to the principal, on which I list students who are passing and failing -- he lets me know that ‘something is wrong. Your list needs adjusting.”

The same teacher, a veteran of 25 years, clarified the point.

“It seems that in my classroom of 25 students, I am not permitted to fail more than three.”

Why?

“The principal tells me, and the rest of the teachers that a long list of failures in a classroom reflects that something is wrong with the teacher. He has even told me to lower my requirements so that more students can pass.”

This teacher also thinks that the principal is bucking to become district supervisor -- and a principal running a school overrun with failing students does not have a good record.

Another teacher in a different South Side high school led me to his classroom and showed me a chaotic situation. The students were having a ball. No semblance of order prevailed.

She led me to a private room and said in dissappointment:

“In that very classroom I have eight seniors who are strutting around the school wearing graduation ribbons. All eight are failing, but they will graduate just the same. You catch more hell trying to fail a student than you do trying to pass one.”

Does her principal require that she only fail a certain number of students?

“Every time I submit my list to him he sends it back asking me ‘isn't there some mistake?’”

What, did she think, was the reason?

“I think with all the pressure now on overcrowded schools in Negro neighborhoods, they make us pass students, even though they are failing, to relieve overcrowding. If the school isn't overcrowded, maybe the civil rights people won't stir up so much trouble.”

Another teacher said, “I actually passed a student to graduation who was awarded a four-year athletic scholarship to Michigan State University. When officials at the university asked him to fill out his application form, he couldn't do it.” Michigan State officials rejected him.

A teacher who said he didn't mind your reporter saying that he teaches at Dunbar High School, and who has been a teacher for 16 years, said he will permit The Chicago Courier to release his name if necessary. He issued the following statement:

“There is in the Chicago Public Schools a travesty on professional ethics which involves a chain of personnel, encompassing the classroom teachers, the principals, district superintendents---on up the line to the general superintendent. My reference is specifically to the method of grading and promoting pupils from grades one through 12. The victim of the injustices described herein is the ‘culturally deprived’ youngster, who is more likely to be Negro than white.

“What is to be taught in any grade or subject area is prescribed in ‘courses of study’ issued by the Bureau of Curriculum of the Board of Education. This would be as it should be if it were not for gross misapplication in schools of communities of low socio-economic levels.

“Here requirements are often completely ignored under the pretext that the natural rate of progress of the pupils precludes any serious attempt to meet prescribed levels and extent of attainment. Teachers are not appraised according to instructional skills but instead for their ability as disciplinarians; i.e., or keepers of order.

“Those dedicated to the promotion of learning and to true professionalism are readily frustrated and discouraged because they cannot, alone, meet the monumental problems peculiar to teaching children of a sub-culture (Negro) values dictated by the dominant middle-class culture. In the absence of empathy and assistance from the school administration, cooperation from colleagues and genuine communication with the people of the community, they are forced to accept defeat of purpose.

“Percentage of failures and promotions are held within limits by the administrators---teachers' opinions notwithstanding. Semester reports of pupils' grades and promotions lists are subject to review by the principal, and other administrators are called upon to explain departures from the limits despite all else that has been mentioned here. Consequently, pupils are propelled upward by a tidal wave of arbitrary decisions to move them along.”

(NEXT WEEK: Principals and more teachers speak up).

Why Negroes Like Plan for Fighting Illiteracy—Page 22

Chicago Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
SUNDAY, MAY 24, 1964

Leads Illiterates to Learning

Program Spurs Basic Subject Education

A private crash program to teach illiterates basic reading, writing and spelling is catching on in the city's Negro community.

The program, which seeks to raise a person's education level five grades in six weeks, began in California and was established here in March at seven Negro churches on the south and west sides. It is run by Teamwork Foundation, Inc., 228 N. La Salle st.

Teamwork graduated 204 persons — including one who is 79 years old—from its initial program here and is planning to start new classes at four north side churches tomorrow.

Use Its Own Bootstraps

"About one of every three Negroes in the United States is an educational cripple without basic reading ability," said Mort Levi, Teamwork's national education director.

"The Negro community does not have a monopoly on illiteracy, but it does have the responsibility of lifting itself by its own bootstraps. Thru these classes, many persons can get off the relief rolls."

Classes are held from 6 to 9 p. m. five days a week. They are taught by public school teachers who have taken a four-week training program and 20 hours of special practice teaching. The teachers are paid five dollars an hour.

Thep rogram is intended to supplement — not supplant — the public schools, Levi said. Many who participate in it have high school diplomas but lack any real facility with English, and others are dropouts.

Complete Simple Reports

Not that the person who completes the course is going to be a paragon of spoken or written English — what it teaches are simple skills.

These include filling out job applications and examinations for a driver's license, learning how to read street signs, learning to read newspapers and magazines, and how to fill out simple job and accident reports.

Prospective participants are given a battery of tests to determine intelligence and reading ability. These serve to help plan individual teaching approaches and are guides for measuring progress.

The classes are arranged around oral drill and various aids such as slides, records, and tape recordings. Class enrollment is 15 to 20. The course is completed in 100 hours.

Teamwork was conceived in 1943 by Ralph E. Loper, a Massachusetts textile mill owner who wanted to improve the capabilities of his unskilled workers thru training.

The program continued along those lines for several years, until Loper, now 79, became interested in private reading clinics in California and decided to expand Teamwork thruout the nation to aid illiterates.

Six hundred persons have been graduated from Teamwork programs, and the organization — which is maintained solely thru contributions — hopes to begin classes soon in Minneapolis-St. Paul and Hammond, Ind.

Levi said that the second series of classes on the south and west sides will begin by June 8.

Open Battle on Illiteracy Tomorrow

An organized attempt to wipe out illiteracy among residents of the north side will be launched tomorrow by 26 churches and social agencies affiliated with the North Side Coöperative ministry.

Registration in classes in reading and writing will begin at 6 p. m. tomorrow in St. Matthew Methodist church, 350 W. Oak st.; Olivet Presbyterian church, 1433 Cleveland av.; and Lake View Presbyterian church, 716 Addison st.

Plan 3 More Center

Some 100 hours of class work will be presented to entrants from 6 to 9 p. m. Monday thru Friday in the three churches.

Three additional centers will be opened within the next few weeks.

The N. S. C. M. estimates that there are 13,000 illiterate persons within the Near North, Lincoln Park, and Lake View communities. The courses will be free and will be directed by teachers accredited by the city school system.

Graduate 240 Persons

The classes will be presented in coöperation with the Teamwork Foundation, an organization devoted to developing literacy classes in the larger cities of the county.

The foundation recently completed its first set of classes on the city's south side graduating 240 persons with sixth grade level of reading and writing.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1964

Teamwork

Attack on Poverty Problem .... By Dorothea Kahn Jaffe

In the whitewashed basement of a little church in one of Chicago's near-in Negro sections, any night in the week you can see a literacy campaign in progress.

This is one of nine Chicago classes conducted by Teamwork Foundation, Inc., a nationally organized, nonprofit group making a frontal attack on the poverty problem through education.

The night we visited the class, the students were sitting at the tables usually used for church suppers, but now each had a book (supplied by Teamwork) and was engrossed in learning. Among the 30 or more students present were grandmothers and grandfathers, young couples, youthful dropouts, mothers with children. The group had one common interest, namely, to learn to read well, to speak clearly and correctly.

* * *

To Change the Subject

What brought them here? Probably it was the persuasive talk of Mort Levi, educational director of Teamwork, a Negro research chemist now devoting himself to this educational work. Mr. Levi, who taught at Sacramento State College in California and did research at the University of California at Berkeley, gave an invitation to the classes one Sunday as guest of the minister of the church. He made education sound exciting and achievable. He had something good to offer, too—six weeks of classes, three hours a night, five days a week, and the prospect of a certificate for those who master basic English in that period.

Teamwork staff members made it easy for persons to enroll then and there. Parked outside the church while Mr. Levi spoke was Teamwork's Literacy Coach, equipped with its own electrical system, visual material, registration table, and chairs. People could walk in, talk to the registrar, and be made a member of the class on the spot.

Most of those who registered have continued. Others, not attendants of the church, have been welcomed. The night of our visit, Robert L. Ward, a Chicago public-school teacher, paid by Teamwork, led the class. He was helping students overcome illiterate habits of speech at the same time they learned to read words (habits like "don' " for "don't," "gone" for going"). They practice in unison. (You don't ask an adult to recite alone at first; it embarrasses him to be heard making a mistake, Mr. Ward told me.) Together they almost shouted the recitation, so eager was their response.

Who are these students? Here are some thumbnail profiles:

Mrs. Plinnie Reed, a neatly dressed grandmother born in Arkansas, was left an orphan at the age of six. A relative, who took her and five younger ones, expected her to care for them. "Just had one day of school in all my life till now." Then, with a big smile, "Now I can write my name. Yes, I enjoys this class."

Harrison McDowell got no schooling in his Alabama youth—no one was concerned about his education after his mother passed on, he said. But this intelligent man managed to become a punch-press operator in Chicago, and now serves as chief steward of his union. Now, with his family reared, he is setting out to get the education he missed as a boy. He thinks classes like this are fine. "The more people hear about this, the more will come," he says.

Mrs. Wilella Price and her daughter heard about this class when they were visiting this church one Sunday. Both have a fair education but want to improve their speech.

A wide variety of educational background is found in these literacy classes. They include even some college students who feel handicapped by lack of reading ability. Teamwork gives three types of standardized tests and works accordingly.

* * *

This organization was founded with a Massachusetts charter in 1943 by Ralph E. Loper, a New England philanthropist. Its main object at the start was "to promote teamwork in commerce and industry by encouraging and assisting in the application of Christian principles in the field of labor-management relations." Now literacy training is its primary function.

It is nonsectarian, and not affiliated with the churches which provide space for classes.

Mr. Levi hopes to see the program greatly expanded, becoming "a nationwide force supplementing but not supplanting the work of public education."

To do this, he says, it must win wider financial support. He says it costs $3,180 for each class of 20 meeting three hours a day for six weeks. This includes salaries, books, notebooks, standardized tests. Everything is free for students.

Chicago's first 200 students in nine Teamwork classes "graduated" with ceremonies May 17. In a similar campaign in California a class of 414 graduated. Twenty-four new Chicago classes for different racial groups are scheduled to start this spring.

AMERICA'S ONLY
NEGRO DAILY

CHICAGO
Daily Defender

Vol. IX — No. 65
MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1964

Team Work Plan Geared To Kill Illiteracy

Millions of Negroes are considered "functionally illiterate" because they cannot read well enough "for effective performances as employes and citizens."

Reading ability is considered so basic a requirement that educators believe all efforts to help the disadvantaged to help themselves will fail without it.

While many organizations are working to eliminate these deficiencies, one of the most successful of these organizations is the Team Work Foundation, Inc.

* * *

Team Work is dedicated to to making functional illiterate persons realize the necessity of correcting their educational failings.

The program is designed to improve the literacy skills of the out-of-school youth, adult illiterates, and delinquents so they can profit from vocational training and become employable.

"A child does not outgrow his lack of developed ability to read or spell," contends Mort Levi, national director of Team Work. "His ability to read is the key to his entire future — success or failure," he added.

Basic literacy classes—reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic—have given new hope to drop-outs, functional illiterates, delinquents, and all other persons who have made themselves available for the program," he continued.

In a recent statement, Levi termed 40 per cent of the nation's population "reading cripples." He calls the Team Work Foundation's effort timely because "thousands of ill-prepared persons who are demanding equal job opportunities, and upgrading in employment, can now prepare themselves for improvement."

"We don't want relief handouts," Levi maintains, "we want individual self-supporting standouts."

Levi further maintains that although low educational attainment is widespread among Negroes, "it is by no means a non-white monopoly."

A recent survey revealed a total of six million whites in 50 states who have less than five years of schooling. An additional two million Negroes fall into the same category.

The present Team Work program had its beginning in two seemingly unrelated events: the start of an Fall River, Mass. industrialist's program to step up industrial efficiency, and Mort Levi's Los Angeles, program to aid the educationally deficient.

Industrialist Ralph E. Loper, a Freedom Award winner, found his textile mills were suffering from inefficient employment performance. As a result, he contacted various businessmen in the New England area, and set up a program to train industrial employees.

Loper then began to search the country for a basic educational program to supplement his own.

Levi's Crusade for Literacy campaign, at the time, was achieving a marked degree of success in California. Levi was working with total illiterates, and was receiving widespread notoriety for his accomplishments.

Loper, impressed with the literacy crusade, contacted Levi. Soon after, the two programs were united under Team Work Foundation, Inc.

Team Work classes are set up on a six-week basis. Classes are held five days a week. Each six-week class costs the foundation $3,000.

Teachers are paid five dollars per hour. Only certified teachers who have obtained Masters degrees are used. Prospective teachers are thoroughly screened. After screening, they are obligated to attend a four-week training course. They must also attend 20 Team Work classes for observation and practice.

"Teachers whose methods we do not like, we do not use," Levi stated.

He explained that the foundation uses a highly specialized instructional method. The director said:

"We use a scientifically controlled phonemic phonic approach to the teaching of reading, and spelling, developed by Dr. Benjamin Nardin of the American Institute of Reading in Upland, Calif.

Levi also stated materials used by the foundation are the best available.

"That means it teaches Team Work students to read and spell, and gives them the basic background to successfully attack, and comprehend, any words they encounter in the American language."

Students are trained in practical application, as well as, basic skills. They are taught to write simple letters—to read and understand news media, and to fill out job applications and reports.

The immediate aim of the foundation is to provide students with the background necessary to obtain jobs. It also hopes students will continue to pursue their educations on to higher levels.

Students are tested before entering, and after completing the Team Work course.

Testing is also repeated at intervals. The program includes more than 500 lessons and lesson plans. They are based on linguistics; "they are comprehensive, thoroughly laid out, time saving, and practical," says Levi.

The program is developed on a step-by-step basis.

Classes are held, in Chicago, at churches on the South and Westsides. Churches participating in the program are El Bethel Church, 5657 S. Lafayette; Second Baptist Church, 514 W. 71st St.; Second Birth Baptist Church, 874 W. 71st St.; and Chicago Baptist Institute, on the Southside.

Westside churches are Garfield Park Baptist Church, 151 W. Homan; and First Baptist Church, 3358 W. Ogden.

September 1, 1964

Mr. Chandler Owen
409 E. Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Dear Chandler :

Thanks a lot for your letter of August 12. I would have answered before now but I have been going hither and yon.

I note your suggestion about getting the Nobel Peace Prize for me. While this is quite an honor, I don't wish to have any campaign carried on for the Nobel Peace Prize in my behalf. I have done nothing in the field of peace which justifies my getting the prize and I don't wish for any propaganda campaign to be carried on to create the idea that I am eligible for such a prize.

When I am in Chicago again I will give you a ring.

Crodially,

A. Philip Randolph

September 1, 1964

Mr. Chandler Owen
409 E. Oakwood Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60653

Dear Chandler:

Relative to your letter of August 17 concerning carrying on an extensive campaign for the election of Lyndon B. Johnson as President, may I say that I don't plan to participate extensively in the campaign. I might make a speech, here or there, probably under the auspices of the AFL-CIO, but I don't want to become involved in any national political campaign although I am one hundred percent for the election of President Johnson too.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

"SERVING THE BUSINESS AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF A NATION"

- CONSULTANTS
- MARKETS
- LABOR

PROGRAMS for ACTION AFFILIATES

- PROMOTIONS
- SPEECHES
- RESEARCH

462 EAST OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 60653
PHONE ATlantic 5-7318

Aug. 12, 1964

Dear Randolph:

A group of my friends - white & colored have agreed to help me get you the Nobel Prize. It is $40,000 with no income tax.

You are the world's greatest peace producer: As head of the March on Washington you preserved peace in the world's greatest nation. Serbia sparked World War I. Poland and Czechoslovakia sparked World War II.

These however were small countries. When America did have its civil war, we, the Americans, lost more men killed and wounded, than we did in both world wars. Civil War is always most bitter and decimating.

"SERVING THE BUSINESS AND SOCIAL NEEDS OF A NATION"

PROGRAMS for ACTION AFFILIATES

- CONSULTANTS
- MARKETS
- LABOR
- PROMOTIONS
- SPEECHES
- RESEARCH

462 EAST OAKWOOD BOULEVARD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 60653
PHONE ATlantic 5-7318

We don't have to get anyone's consent to boost them for the Nobel prize. I'm getting such white men as Rabbi Louis Mann and Atty. Abel of the Anti-Defamation League for whom I did public relations all during the war. I'll also get Earl Dickerson now, T. K. Gibson of Supreme Life, J. B. Martin of Victory Life, and Gen. Harris of Metropolitan.. S. B. Fuller is a friend of mine, [illegible] Davis & Mr. Louise Davis, & I'm sure John Johnson will help.

Who are the groups who want you to go to Israel? Give me their exact address and name.

Will call you in the morning.

Sincerely
Chandler

Write me to the hotel as usual as per card,

INCORPORATED "NOT FOR PROFIT" IN 1943

Teamwork Foundation, Inc.

228 NORTH LA SALLE STREET • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601 • Phone 372-0229

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Regional Director

Mort Levi
National Educational Director

Isidore Goodman
Legal Counsel

August 17 1964

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Randolph:

I'm today taking time by the forelock and suggesting that we make a plan to help Johnson's election to the Presidency.

I noticed, when you were here, that the AFL-CIO voted to approriate $700,000.00 to this end, so I am reducing to paper the outline of my suggestion especially for us in reaching both labor and particularly Negro labor.

We can and will make a real showing, and since the election is only eleven weeks away, we need to get going. The opposition is already on the job and Goldwater speaks here Wednesday.

Kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Chandler

Chandler Owen

CO/jks

REC [illegible] - 18 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

AN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION PRESENTLY ENGAGED IN A NATIONAL "CRUSADE FOR LITERACY"

PS:

One of the things we shall have to combat is Johnson's previous record on the Negro. For 30 years he voted consistently against Negroes. Nevertheless he did a superb, sustained job in support of a real Civil Rights Law.

Ithink we shall need a folder inwhich we can compare Johnson with St. Paul. At his start, we should recall St. Paul was Saul of Taraus and the chief persecutor of the Christians. After his change of heart, however, St. Paul became the chief Crusader for Christianity.

The Republicans are planning to use this first argument, so let us get on our rebuttal. In fact, I'm starting to do so today.

Hastily,

Chandler
Chandler

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

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GPA087 SYD211 =

1964 JUL 30 PM 1 29

N WW BUY006 BUZ1 LONG W BUZ1 GOVT PD =BU WASHINGTON DC 30
NFT =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
217 WEST 125 ST NEW YORK NY =

AS A STRONG SUPPORTER OF CIVIL RIGHTS I WARMLY COMMEND YOU AND THE OTHER NEGRO LEADERS UPON YOUR STATEMENT CALLING FOR SUSPENSION OF FURTHER PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS UNTIL THE ELECTION. YOU BY COURAGEOUSLY TAKING SUCH POSITION HAVE WELL SERVED OUR COUNTRY AND OUR NEGRO CITIZENS. CONTINUED DEMONSTRATIONS CAN ONLY RETARD OR THREATEN THE SPLENDID WAY IN WHICH ON THE WHOLE THE PEOPLE OF

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

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OUR COUNTRY HAVE ACCEPTED IN GOOD SPIRIT THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AS THE LAW OF THE LAND. I AM PROUD THAT MY HOME AREA OF GREATER MIAMI FLORIDA UNDER A GREAT BI-RACIAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY BISHOP COLEMAN F. CARROLL HAS JUSTIFIED THE CONCLUSION OF THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER THAT OURS IS A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THE PEACEFUL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND THE GOODWILL WHICH SHOULD EXIST BETWEEN THE RACES =

CLAUDE PEPPER MC =

JUL 30 1964

[illegible]

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

84-729 Moua Street
Makaha, Oahu
Hawaii
February 10,1964.

Dear Phil:

Miss Wilds sent me your "love" and I am writing to ask you why not come out here and bring it with you.

I won't go into an 'organ recital' of my ills,but just say that I am grateful to be out of the hospital (Bronchial Pneumonia) and again bouncing around getting into things, some of which are my business...others NOT.

I count myself very fortunate as it was the first time in my life that I have been really ill in a hospital. Even at that, I think the doctor pushed the panic button because I was a stranger and she had no previous history of me.

I am now out in the country,forty miles from Waikiki where all the silly tourists go to "see Hawaii". I am stopping with a Chinese-Hawaiian family and they are just the salt of the earth....the real, real Hawaii. They think I am something that dropped down from the sky and I hope I leave before they find out differently. I just love them!!!

Phil, I have been nagging you, off and on, to take some kind of a real vacation. Why don't you come out here and bask in this beautiful, health-giving sunshine? The place, as you probably know, is beautiful beyond description.

At night, I go to sleep listening to the waves lashing the shore. It is never too hot as the trade winds are constantly blowing.

Martin King is coming out here to speak at the University of Hawaii on the 18th and 19th. More than this place needs Martin, it needs someone like you to speak. The labor practices are not up to standard and wages are way below those on the mainland for all kinds of workers.

These people, although they think of the Negro as being inferior to them, are way, way behind the Negro in the quest for self and group improvement. It is a rare Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese or Philippine family that will instill in a child the necessity of getting a good education. These young people drop out of school sometimes before high school. The girls,beautiful to look at but with no skills, marry and have a house full of children. Some marry two or three times. Sometimes they forget to get married. The parents do not see the great necessity of urging the children to stay in school. As soon as they can earn a dollar, they allow them to work and they work for the Haole (white man) who makes his children stay in school.

All around you here you can see why the white man is on top and why he is going to STAY on top. These people have so many, many natural talents, but they don't know how to develop them to their full potential. The white man comes along and exploits the talents for profit.

I don't know what Martin is going to talk about. I hope he doesn't waste his time here talking about religion. I hope he emphasizes the importance of education, education and more education.

Phil, dear, why don't you treat yourself to even one week out here. It is better than Florida because you KNOW it is not going to be cold here, nor is it going to rain.

My best love to you,

Affectionately,

Hilda Proctor

April 7, 1964

Mr. Jackie Robinson
Rockefeller for President Headquarters
521 Fifth Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, New York

Dear Jackie:

Because of your important and impressive letter concerning the crisis in the civil rights revolution now upon us, indicating the need for consultation among the leaders of civil rights to evaluate some of the explosive factors involved, I have written the enclosed letter to our chief leaders of the civil rights cause with the hope that we may be able to find the time to meet and talk about this crisis which can set back the civil rights revolution and the cause of Negro freedom.

I will let you know how the idea gets along.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b
enc:

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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RFR 1 D L = CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP= MAR 24 1964=

ROBERT SAUNDERS= PRESIDENT=
FLORIDA STATE NAACP=
705 HARRISON ST= TAMPA FLA=

GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR PLAN FOR A MASSIVE MARCH OF NEGRO CITIZENS ON THE CAPITAL OF FLORIDA FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN DIGNITY= KEENLY REGRET UNAVOIDABLE COMMITMENTS PREVENT ME FROM JOINING MY FELLOW-STATE FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN THIS GREAT DEMONSTRATION= THOUGH NOT THERE IN THE FLESH I AM WITH YOU IN THE SPIRIT= FORWARD FOR FREEDOM=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

HOTEL THERESA 2090 SEVENTH AVE., SUITE 128 NEW YORK, N. Y.

May 16, 1964

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir,

As you know, the Muslim Mosque Inc., provides a new vehicle in which free participation in the struggle for Freedom, Justice and Equality for the 22 million Negroes can take place.

We have no restrictions on religious ties, political preference or on the organizational leanings of those who wish to participate with us.

Minister Malcolm has slso made public his intentions not to attack any persons or organizations that are engaged in the struggle. He also asks forgiveness for the unkind things that he has said in the past.

Enclosed you will find two letters that have been disseminated as press releases. You will immediately become aware of the new areas for mutual cooperation that these releases make possible. This, of course can be of tremendous benefit to all our people.

Brother Malcolm will be back in America by May 23rd. We welcome any comments or suggestions that you may have concerning Minister Malcolm's new position. We pray that it will be attractive to you and herald in a new era for all of us.

Certainly he is looking forward to the day (in the near future) when all leaders of all organizations will be able to present a United Action Front.

May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

James Shabazz

James Shabazz
Secretary

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1964
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

HOTEL THERESA 2090 SEVENTH AVE., SUITE 128 NEW YORK, N. Y.

FROM MALCOLM X FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Jedda, Saudi Arabia April 20, 1964

Never have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and the overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practiced by people of all colors and races here in this Ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all the other prophets of the Holy Scriptures. For the past week I have been utterly speechless and spellbound by the graciousness I see displayed all around me by people of all colors.

Last night, April 19th, I was blessed to visit the Holy City of Mecca, and complete the "Omra", part of my pilgrimmage. Allah willing, I shall leave for Mina tomorrow, April 21st, and be back in Mecca to say my prayers from Mt. Arafat on Tuesday, April 22nd. Mina is about 20 miles from Mecca.

Last night I made my seven circuits around the Kaaba, led by a young Mutawif named Muhammad. I drank water from the well of Zem Zem, and then ran back and forth seven times between the hills of Mt. Al-Safa and Al-Marwah.

There were tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over the world. They were of all colors, from blue-eyed blonds to black-skinned Africans, but were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe could never exist between the white and non-white.

America needs to understand Islam, because this is the one religion that erases the race problem from its society. Throughout my travels in the Muslim World, I have met, talked to, and even eaten with, people who would have been considered "white" in America, but the religion of Islam in their hearts has removed the "white" from their minds. They practice sincere and true brotherhood with other people irrespective of their color.

Before America allows herself to be destroyed by the "cancer of racism" she should become better acquainted with the religious philosophy of Islam, a religion that has already molded people of all colors into one vast family, a nation or brotherhood of Islam that leaps over all "obstacles" and stretches itself into almost all the Eastern countries of this earth.

The whites, as well as the non-whites who accept true Islam become a changed people. I have eaten from the same plate with people whose eyes were the bluest of blue, whose hair was the blondest of blond, and whose skin was the whitest of white - all the way from Cairo to Jedda and even in the Holy City of Mecca itself - and I felt the same sincerity in the words and deeds of these "white" Muslims that I felt among the African Muslims of Nigeria, Sudan and Ghana.

True Islam removes racism, because people of all colors and races who accept its religious principles and bow down to the One God, Allah, also automatically accept each other as brothers and sisters, regardless of differences in complexion.

You may be shocked by these words coming from me, but I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and knowledge unfolds it. The experiences of this pilgrimmage have taught me much, and each hour here in the Holy Land opens my eyes even more. If Islam can place the spirit of true brotherhood in the hearts of the "whites" whom I have met here in the Land of the Prophets, then surely it can also remove the "cancer of racism" from the heart of the white American, and perhaps in time to save America from imminent racial disaster, the same destruction brought upon Hitler by his racism that eventually destroyed the Germans themselves.

At present I am a State Guest of His Excellency, Prince Faisal, the ruler of Arabia.

I am most grateful to Dr. Mahmoud Youssef Shawarbi, Director of the Islamic Center of New York for helping me to understand true Islam, a religion that teaches brotherhood and tolerance between peoples of all colors and national origins. He was instrumental in opening my eyes to Islam's views concerning cooperation between peoples in solving mutual problems amicably. He always reminded me of the relevant verse in our Holy Koran which says:

> "Call unto the way of the Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation and reason with them in the better way."
>
> Holy Koran Ch. 16, Verse 125

Dr. Shawarbi's name and prestige have opened many doors for me here in the Muslim World. New York City should be proud that he is the Director of its Islamic Center in addition to being the Director of the Islamic Federation of the United States and Canada.

My experiences here in the Muslim World compel me to urge Americans of all colors to flock to this great religious man and drink of his spiritual wisdom.

In New York, Dr. Shawarbi had given me the book "The Eternal Message of Muhammad" by Abd-al-Rahman Azzam. I read this most inspiring book all the way to Jeddah and I must confess that its wealth of information, expressed in frank and simple terms, opened a new world of Islamic thought to me. It broadened my scope, and made me more open-minded.

Two nights ago I had the honor of meeting this noble man, the author of the book, at the home of his son, Dr. Omar Azzam, here in Jeddah. He seemed to be one of the most modern progressive and broad-minded humans I have ever met. In America he would be called a "white" man, but to me he was a Muslim, and his warm, friendly hospitality made me soon feel like one of his sons. Upon learning that I had no reservations in any hotel, this world traveler, UN diplomat, ambassador and companion of kings, gave me his own suite, at the Jeddah Palane Hotel.

This man who would be considered "white" in America, gave his bed to me, an American Negro. It was he who made Prince Faisal aware of my presence in Jeddah.

The very next morning, His Excellency's son, Muhammad Faisal, informed me personally that I was to be a State Guest, by the will and decree of his esteemed father.

The Deputy Chief of Protocol, took me before the Hajj Court, presided over by His Holiness Sheikh Muhammad Harkon with whom I had tea when I visited Jeddah in 1959. I was pleased that he remembered me. He okayed my visa to Mecca, gave me two books on Islam, with his personal seal and autograph, and told me he prayed I would be a successful preacher of Islam in America. I felt very humble by the attention and honor they were bestowing upon me. It was an honor that in America would be bestowed upon a King--not a Negro.

They placed a car at my disposal, with a driver and a guide, making it possible for me to travel between Mecca and Jeddah almost at will. Never did I dream that I would be the recipient of such honors, especially being State Guest of the Prince who rules this Holy Land. All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of all the Worlds.

In my next letter I hope to tell you more about Mecca, and how Dr. Omar Azzam (the author's son) is modernizing these cities and the highway system that leads to all the Holy Places. They are even rebuilding the Great Mosque which houses the Kaaba in the Holy City of Mecca. It will be an architectural wonder that will rival the Taj Mahal in beauty, and the Pyramids in engineering skill when completed.

TEXT OF LETTER DATED APRIL 19, 1964 FROM EL-HAJJ MALIK EL-SHABAZZ (Malcolm X)

THE MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.

HOTEL THERESA 2090 SEVENTH AVE., SUITE 128 NEW YORK, N. Y.

May 11, 1964

For Immediate Release

FROM MALCOLM X IN LAGOS, NIGERIA

Each place I have visited, they have insisted that I don't leave. Thus I have been forced to stay longer than I originally intended in each country. In the Muslim world they loved me once they learned I was an American Muslim, and here in Africa they love me as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims. Africans in general, and Muslims in particular love militancy. I hope that my Hajj to the Holy City of Mecca will officially establish the religious affiliation of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. with the 750,000,000 Muslims of the World of Islam once and for all--and that my warm reception here in Africa will forever repudiate the American white man's propaganda that the Black man in Africa is not interested in the plight of the Black man in America.

The Muslim World is forced to concern itself from the moral point of view in its own religious concepts, with the fact that our plight clearly involves the violation of our human rights.

The Koran compels the Muslim World to take a stand on the side of those whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasion of the victims are. Islam is a religion which concerns itself with the human rights of all mankind, despite race, color, or creed. It recognizes all (everyone) as part of one Human Family.

Here in Africa the 22 million American Blacks are looked upon as the long-lost brothers of Africa. Our people here are interested in every aspect of our plight, and they study our struggle for freedom from every angle. Despite western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love us, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long "sleep" and are developing strong love for them.

(Signed)

El Hajj Malik El-Shabazz

2

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

March 10, 1964

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

Your secretary will doubtless tell you, when she gets a chance, how earnestly I am imploring you to speak on the first night of our Socialist conference on poverty in Washington-the night of Friday, April 17th. The opening session will assume the facts of poverty and unemployment and take a look at Johnson's program and its adequacy. Michael Harrington will be chairman. We want you, of course, to speak on the subject especially as it affects and is affected by our racial discrimination. You are the ideal man. Please say yes. We cannot pay anything but expenses but those we will pay. You will be speaking, I think, with Seymour Melman and Fay Bennett among others.

I could not go to your march on Albany this rainy day but I certainly have endorsed its objectives. More power to you.

As ever, yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:S

MAR 1 196

March 25, 1964

MEMO TO A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young
Robert Moses

I have just been talking by telephone to Senator Hubert Humphrey, who had been spending the morning on the floor of the Senate managing the Civil Rights Bill.

Senator Humphrey was emphatic about the usefulness of accounts of specific injustice or violence done to Negroes in their struggle for equal rights. He asked that these accounts be sent to him immediately and he would see that they were used to the greatest possible effect during the Senate debate on Civil Rights.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

MAR 2[illegible] 1964
[illegible]

April 7, 1964

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary
National Association for the Advancement
  of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

My dear Roy:

I have been deeply concerned with a number of recent developments that, undoubtedly, will affect the thinking and action of both Negro and white people in the United States and consequently will affect the course of the civil rights movement's progress and strategy. These developments include:

(a) the emergence in the North of an organized Right whose propaganda and tactics give the appearance of separating many previously committed white people from our movement.

(b) the declared intention of Malcolm X to project a social and political program and his advocacy of rifle clubs. His "ballot or bullets" speech before a 1,000 people several days ago in Harlem requires of us the most careful analysis.

(c) the growth in a number of northern cities of Left totalitarian influence in a number of protest groups.

(d) the rise of demagogic Negro leadership in a number of cities and their determined effort to sow confusion and compound frustration, while offering the Negro masses no concrete alternative.

These developments indicate to me a very real need for the leadership of established civil rights groups to meet, for the purpose

of examining and analyzing these trends and attempting to find a means to combat them.

I, therefore, would like to propose that you, and the individuals listed below as having received a similar letter, meet with me at a mutually agreeable time and place in the near future for a full discussion of these and related matters. Once I have an indication that you and the others feel such a meeting would be helpful, I shall ask my secretary, Miss Wilds, to reach you concerning dates when you will be free.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b

Similar letter to:
Dr. Martin Luther King
Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Mr. James Farmer
Mr. John Lewis

April 7, 1964

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

My dear Whitney:

I have been deeply concerned with a number of recent developments that, undoubtedly, will affect the thinking and action of both Negro and white people in the United States and consequently will affect the course of the civil rights movement's progress and strategy. These developments include:

(a) the emergence in the North of an organized Right whose propaganda and tactics give the appearance of separating many previously committed white people from our movement.

(b) the declared intention of Malcolm X to project a social and political program and his advocacy of rifle clubs. His "ballot or bullets" speech before a 1,000 people several days ago in Harlem requires of us the most careful analysis.

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Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
National President

APR/b

Similar letter to:
- Dr. Martin Luther King
- Mr. Roy Wilkins
- Mr. James Farmer
- Mr. John Lewis

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE A-W 1965

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

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1965 OCT 28 AM 11 17

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WASHINGTON =DC 27 =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH PRES,A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE =
217 WEST 125 ST 3 FL NYK

=BILL COLEMAN AND I URGENTLY HOPE YOU CAN ATTEND A MEETING WITH =US AND THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF AT 330 PM SATURDAY OCTOBER 30TH =TO DISCUSS PLANNING FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE QUOTE TO =FULFILL THESE RIGHTS UNQUOTE PLEASE COME TO THE SOUTHWEST GATE =OF THE WHITE HOUSE WE FEEL IT ESSENTIAL THAT YOU AND OTHER =PRINCIPALS INVITED BE

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
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PRESENT IN PERSON. PLEASE CONFIRM COLLECT =TO MRS
THORNELL AREA CODE 202 737 9010=
MORRIS B ABRAM CO-CHAIRMAN WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
TO FULFILL =THESE RIGHTS = =

Call Morris Abram

330 30 202 737 9010. = == ====

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

November 4, 1965

Mr. Clifford Alexander
White House Conference on Civil Rights
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Clifford:

Pursuant to our discussion of persons who may be considered for invitation to participate in the White House Conference on Civil Rights, November 17-18, 1965, may I suggest the following persons, all of whom I am sure would contribute fundamentally to the purposes and aims of the Conference.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, U. N. Secretariat Building
Room 951-B, 42nd Street and First Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017

Dr. Graham is a former U. S. Senator from North Carolina, Co-chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, and Chairman of the National Sharecroppers Fund. He is one of America's great liberals and is devoted to the cause of improving the lot of farm workers.

Miss Fay Bennett, 112 East 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

Miss Bennett is Executive Secretary of the Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and the National Sharecroppers Fund. She is eminently qualified to serve as a consultant on rural farm labor problems.

Father A. J. McKnight, President, Southern Consumers
Cooperative, P. O. Box 3005, Lafayette, Louisiana

Father McKnight is a Negro priest who is a moving spirit behind economic programs to help Negroes in Louisiana.

Mr. Otha Williams, Chairman, Madison County Farmers League, Rte. 1, Box 128, Canton, Mississippi

Mr. Williams is an indigenous Negro leader of farm workers, active in promoting economic and civil rights for Negro farmers.

Mr. Gus Edwards, Research Analyst, N. Y. Employment Service, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y., Room 1114

I strongly suggest the use of Mr. Edwards as a consultant to the panel on jobs because of his wealth of information on this subject, especially as it relates to the employability and the alleged non-employability of black workers.

It is my hope that the above mentioned persons may be invited to serve on panels appropriate to their interest and experience.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

File

Translation

Mr. A.PHILIP RANDOLPH,
President of the Brotherhood
of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street,
New York, 27,
N.Y. U.S.A.

Moscow, 23. March, 1965.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

The AUCCTU International Department sends you for your information the text of the Statement of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions published on 16th March, 1965 by the newspaper "Trud" in connection with cruel violence done by Alabama State authorities to Negro participants in the Freedom March in Selma.

We express our confidence that the struggle of the Negro working people in the USA for their democratic rights and liberties will be crowned with success.

Sincerely yours,

B.Averyanov,
Head, International Department,
AUCCTU

RECEIVED
APR 1 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE STATEMENT BY THE ALL-UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS OF THE USSR

Radio and press have reported another crime committed by American racists - authorities resorted to brutal violence as regards freedom march participants, Negro population in Selma, Alabama State.

Bestial violence of mounted police done to the marchers among whom there were many women and children is an act of flagrant violation of basic democratic rights and liberties of the American citizens. It has justly aroused the feelings of indignation and wrath among the workers in the USSR who demand that an end be put to the inhuman chase of Negroes in the USA.

The Soviet working people denounce these cruel arbitrary actions committed by the Alabama State authorities led by Governor Wallace, a racist and obscurantist, under whose orders police has resorted to clubbing, whipping and tear-gassing of the Negroes.

On behalf of the Soviet factory and office workers the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions resolutely protest against the reprisal of freedom marchers in Selma.

The Soviet organized workers, all our citizens express their fraternal solidarity with Negro working people in the USA who are courageously fighting, backed by progressive American public opinion, for equality in political, economic and social field, for elimination of racial discrimination.

American racists must answer for their crimes. The Soviet workers resolutely demand that all those involved in committing this bestial violence to American Negroes should be severely punished and Negro people be ensured democratic liberties and genuine equality.

AUCCTU

ВСЕСОЮЗНЫЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ СОВЕТ
ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

Отдел Международный
23 марта 1965 г.
№ -

Москва, В-119, Ленинский проспект, 42

(При ответе ссылайтесь на наш номер)

Г-ну А.Филиппу Рэндолфу
Председателю Братства
носильщиков спальных
вагонов
217 Вест , 125 Стрит,
Нью-Йорк 27, Н.И. США

Уважаемый господин Рэндолф,

Международный отдел ВЦСПС направляет Вам, опубликованное 16.3.1965 г. в газете "Труд", Заявление Всесоюзного Центрального Совета Профессиональных Союзов по случаю жестокой расправы властей штата Алабама с участниками массового "похода свободы" негритянского населения города Сельма.

Выражаем уверенность в том, что борьба трудящихся негров США за демократические права и свободы увенчается полным успехом.

С уважением,

Б.АВЕРЬЯНОВ
Аверьянов
Заведующий Международным
отделом ВЦСПС

Утвержден
постановлением Секретариата
ВЦСПС от I8 марта 1965 года,
протокол № 9, п.I5

ЗАЯВЛЕНИЕ ВЦСПС

Радио и печать приносят сообщения о новом преступлении американских расистов - жестокой расправе властей с участниками массового "похода свободы" негритянского населения города Селма, штат Алабама.

Кровавая расправа конной полиции над демонстрантами,среди которых было много женщин и детей, является вопиющим нарушением элементарных демократических прав и свобод американских граждан, Она вызывает чувство законного возмущения и негодования советских трудящихся, требующих положить конец бесчеловечному преследованию негров в США.

Трудящиеся Советского Союза клеймят позором этот грубый акт произвола со стороны властей штата Алабама во главе с расистом и мракобесом губернатором Уоллесом, по указанию которого полиция пустила в ход дубинки, нагайки и бомбы со слезоточивым газом.

От имени советских рабочих и служащих Всесоюзный Центральный Совет Профессиональных Союзов решительно протестует против расправы с участниками "похода свободы" города Селма.

Члены профессиональных союзов, все советские люди выражают свою братскую солидарность с трудящимися неграми США, которые при поддержке прогрессивной американской общественности ведут мужественную борьбу за свое равноправие в политической, экономической и социальной областях жизни, за ликвидацию позорной расовой дискриминации.

Преступления американских расистов не должны остаться безнаказанными. Советские трудящиеся решительно требуют сурово наказать участников и организаторов бесчеловечных расправ над американскими неграми и обеспечения негритянскому населению США демократических свобод и полного равноправия.

ВСЕСОЮЗНЫЙ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ СОВЕТ
ПРОФЕССИНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

EDITION
AM ______ PM ______
DEAD LINE

WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1595 (R-11-52)
CHECK
TIME FILED

1965 DEC 6 PM 3 48

JA043 SSC264

O SFE257 LLZ4 PD 6 EXTRA=SAN FRANCISCO CALIF 6 NFT=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, VICE PRESIDENT, AFL-CIO=
ST. FRANCIS HOTEL SFRAN=

FOR MORE THAN SIXTY YEARS THE AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN OF NORTH AMERICA HAVE BEEN A MOST LOYAL ORGANIZATION IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. WE HAVE SUPPORTED EVERY CAUSE IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, IN THE INTEREST OF HUMANITY, AND IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE.=

=DESPITE ALL OF THIS LOYAL PERSEVERANCE AND MILITANCY, OUR INTERNATIONAL UNION HAS NEVER BEEN HONORED WITH ANY OF ITS EXECUTIVE OFFICERS BEING SELECTED AS A MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE PARENT LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES=

WE HAVE THE HIGHEST RESPECT FOR THE OFFICERS OF THE AFL-CIO. WE HOLD THEM AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE GREATEST ESTEEM. WE FEEL NOW, HOWEVER, THAT WITH A PERMANENT, STABLE MEMBERSHIP OF MORE THAN 350,000 MEMBERS, WHICH MAKES US THE EIGHTH LARGEST ORGANIZATION IN THE AFL-CIO, WE HAVE A RIGHT TO REQUEST THAT ONE OF OUR EXECUTIVE OFFICERS BE PLACED UPON THE BOARD.=

=RELUCTANTLY, WE MUST ADVISE THAT BY ACTION OF OUR INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD IN SAN FRANCISCO THIS MORNING THAT UNLESS WE CAN OBTAIN THIS CONSIDERATION, EVEN THOUGH WE KNOW THE POWER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IN THE CONVENTION, WE FEEL CONSTRAINED TO NOMINATE BEFORE THE CONVENTION ONE OF OUR OWN EXECUTIVE OFFICERS FOR A POSITION AS AN EXECUTIVE BOARD

PAGE MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220
R-4-60

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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OA139 BB393

B VDB068 VDZ4 PD 9 EXTRA=FAX VD NEW YORK NY 10 NFT= 1965 DEC 10 PM 3 30

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS= FRANCIS DRAKE HOTEL SFRAN=

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS HAS LONG DESERVED MEMBERSHIP ON AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS LOYALTY AND SIZABLE MEMBERSHIP HAVE MADE US AN IMPORTANT UNION WITHIN THE AFL-CIO. WE HAVE WAITED PATIENTLY FOR REPRESENTATION ON THE COUNCIL. WE SHALL UNDERTAKE A CONVENTION FLOOR FIGHT ON TUESDAY FOR THE ELECTION OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE PATRICK E. GORMAN. WE NEED YOUR HELP. WE APPEAL TO YOU FOR YOUR SUPPORT OF OUR HONORABLE FIGHT=

FURRIERS JOINT COUNCIL GEORGE STOFSKY MANAGER CHARLES HOFF ASSISTANT MANAGER OSCAR WARD ASSISTANT MANAGER..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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NJ444 (59)CDU563
TK57 30 PD INTL CD BORDEAUX TT BEYNAC VIA FRENCH 7 1945
LT PHILIPP RANDOLTH URBAIN LEAGUE　　1965 AUG 7 PM 6 08
217 117 WEST 125TH ST NYK GP

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS ACCOMPLISHMENT AND FOR ACHIEVING PRESIDENTS SIGNATURE AFFECTIONATELY
JOSEPHINE BAKER AND HER CHILDREN OF THE WORLD.

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WUSF1201(R2-65)

August 15, 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for the post card you sent to me from Europe. I hope that you spent a pleasant vacation.

I have been thinking recently about the fact that you and my Dad have both been unyielding and unrelenting fighters for the welfare of the race, and have fought against tremendous odds. Because of the friendship that existed between you and my Dad, I thought you might be interested in the enclosed material.

At the urging of friends and acquaintances, my Aunt and I had some inscriptions placed on our family mausoleum in Elmwood Cemetery in Memphis in 1963 about my father and my grandfather, because of their historical significance. Friends have pointed out that the information about my father is particularly significant at this time because of the current emphasis on Colored people voting in the south, and the apprehension among some white people about Colored leadership of a political party in the south. Memphis has already had this experience, and excerpts quoted from an editorial on my father in the Memphis Commercial Appeal acknowledge this fact.

Recently, friends sent to us copies of the March 25, 1965, issue of the Mid-South Magazine section of the Sunday Commercial Appeal containing a feature article on Beale Street which referred to W. C. Handy, my grandfather and my father. I am enclosing a copy of this news article and also a copy of the inscriptions we had placed on the mausoleum.

The Memphis Commercial Appeal is a daily morning newspaper, and is to Memphis and the mid-south what the New York Times is to New York city and vicinity. All the material from the Commercial Appeal about my father and grandfather was written by white reporters.

My father established the first branch of the NAACP in Memphis, back in the days when it was dangerous to even be a member in the south. He was elected to the Board of Directors, being the first to be elected from the south. James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and Roy Wilkins used our home and his office as their headquarters when they came on missions to investigate southern lynchings, labor conditions etc. As I sort my father's papers, I come across much interesting historical information.

Elmwood cemetery is about a ten minute ride from almost any section of the city, and on some occasion when you are visiting Memphis, if you have the time and it is convenient, perhaps a member of the Brotherhood would drive you there. It is one of the oldest cemeteries in Memphis and among people buried there, in addition to prominent citizens, is a daughter of Patrick Henry. Our legal residence is still in Memphis where we vote and my Aunt and I make special trips there at intervals to attend to business.

I hope that you are well, and that you will have a pleasant summer.
With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Roberta
(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D. C. 20009

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
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10 AM - Wed. Tues 8:30 PM
2 PM - —— Wed 9 —

MARCH 1, 1965

SECRETARY W. WILLARD WIRTZ
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D C.

ASTOUNDED AT PHONE CALL JUST RECEIVED FROM DIVISION OF SPECIAL PROGRAMS OF OFFICE OF MANPOWER & AUTOMATION TRAINING THAT NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND CONTRACT NO. P 3-64 FOR OUR DEMONSTRATION PROJECT TO DEVELOP JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS AMONG HARD CORE SOUTHERN RURAL UNEMPLOYED IS BEING TURNED OVER TO OAK RIDGE INSTITUTE OF NUCLEAR STUDIES. ASSUME THIS IS MISTAKEN NEWS. WE ARE ON OUR WAY NOW TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH YOUR OFFICIALS REGARDING THIS SUDDEN AND INCOMPREHENSIBLE DEVELOPMENT.

FRANK P. GRAHAM, CHAIRMAN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, VICE-CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL SHAREFROPPERS FUND

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1595 (R-11-52)

EDITION
AM ______ PM ______
DEAD LINE

WESTERN UNION PRESS MESSAGE

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

CHECK
TIME FILED

.OA023 PD257

N JPA028 31 EXTRA=JP NEW YORK NY 14 225P EST= 1965 DEC 14 PM 12 47

MR A PHILIP RANDOLPH, VP AFL-CIO, AFL-CIO CONVENTION=
ST FRANCIS HOTEL SFRAN=

=NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SENDS YOU GREETINGS AND COPY OF WIRE SENT TODAY TO GEORGE MEANY AND WALTER REUTHER: "ON BEHALFOF NACFL AND OUR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING TODAY, WE SALUTE TENTH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION, AND HEARTILY SUPPORT AFL-CIO'S ORGANIZING DRIVE OF FARM WORKERS, ESPECIALLY THE STRIKING DELANO GRAPE WORKERS, WHO SEEK A LIVING WAGE AND THE PROTECTION AND DIGNITY OF A UNION TO REPRESENT THEM. WE HOPE AFL-CIO CONVENTION TAKES SPECIFIC ACTION TO SUPPORT MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION FOR FARM WORKERS AND TO PROVIDE GREATER FINANCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL SUPPORT TO AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE WITH DEEP APPRECIATION AND BESTWISHES" WIRE TO REUTHER ALSO STATED: "WE APPLAUD YOUR LEADERSHIP AND GIVE HEARTY APPROVAL OF ANNOUNCED PLANS OF INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT TO ORGANIZE THE WORKING POOR INCLUDING FARM WORKERS WHO ARE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE ECONOMIC LADDER."=

FRANK P GRAHAM ROBERT COLES HELEN CAHAGAN DOUGLAS WALTER E FAUNTROY ROBERT W HUDGENS JOHN A MACKAY NORMAN THOMAS GEORGE WILEY JOSEPHINE WILKINS FAY BENNETT ON BEHALK OF NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON FARM LABOR=

THE FOLLOWING 6 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You may be interested in seeing a copy of the letter I have sent today to George Meany commending the recent action of the AFL-CIO Council in its statement on Poverty.

I was so pleased to see you at the meeting of the National Advisory Council last week. You are to be commended for this great public service you are performing.

Sincerely yours,

Hubert H.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Vice President, AFL-CIO
217 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
MAR 2[illegible] 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 24, 1965

Dear George:

I have just had the opportunity to read the statement on Poverty adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council at your recent meeting in Florida. I want to commend you for a forthright and constructive pronouncement on this very important national effort.

Important as it is, the Economic Opportunity Act is only one of the battlegrounds on which the war against poverty is being fought. We have passed the Appalachian Program. We are going to be successful in Medicare this year. In addition, we will increase Social Security benefits for our elderly and we will increase the federal share of public assistance for them. The President's proposals in the fields of education, health, and housing are all oriented to special problems of the poor. We expect strengthened programs in Manpower Training, in Area Redevelopment, in Fair Labor Standards, and unemployment insurance. All of these will contribute to the war against poverty.

Your appeal to AFL-CIO affiliates to participate actively in the war against poverty is especially welcome. Your people can bring leadership to the development, the administration, and the evaluation of all of our anti-poverty programs.

As part of my general responsibility for the anti-poverty program, I hope soon to be able to meet with the members of the Labor Advisory Council to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Last week, I had the pleasure of participating with the National Advisory Council, of which Phil Randolph and Miles Stanley are members. They were both present at this meeting and made splendid contributions.

Sincerely yours,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. George Meany, President
AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 10, 1965

Dear ~~Mr. Randolph~~ Philip:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your telegram to the President regarding the possible appointment of L. N. D. Wells, Jr. of Dallas to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

I have not been consulted about this appointment, but I shall be glad to urge that your views be considered by the White House.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
National President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1965

Dear Phil:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to the President suggesting an expansion of the Executive Order on fair housing.

I felt that our May 6th meeting was useful and constructive. Please be assured that we are very conscious of the harmful impact of discrimination in housing, and are carefully exploring appropriate means for combatting it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H Humphrey
Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President, Brotherhood
of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, New York 10027

RECEIVED
MAY 17 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1965

Dear Phil:

This last year has certainly been one of substantial achievements in the cause of freedom and justice. But the problems still before us are many and challenging. I think it would be mutually helpful if we could meet shortly after the new year to review the next steps in this continuing struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity.

Until then, my very best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Hubert H. Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Negro American Labor Council
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

December 28, 1965

The Honorable
The Vice President of the United States
The United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20025

My dear Mr. Vice President

Thank you for your letter of December 21 suggesting a meeting of civil rights representatives to review the next steps in the struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity. I will be glad to share in such a meeting.

Congratulations upon the great job you are doing for the cause of civil rights, democracy and freedom.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

RLO 2= CHG BROTHERHOOD SCP =JAN 25 1965=

HON LYNDON B JOHNSON=
BETHESDA HOSPITAL=
BETHESDA MARYLAND=

YOU HAVE OUR PRAYERS FOR A SPEEDY RECOVERY=

A PHILIP RANDOLPH=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 29, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your kind message to the President. He had an opportunity to see it, and he deeply appreciates your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

Juanita D. Roberts
Personal Secretary
to the President

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you very much for your endorsement of Mr. L.N.D. Wells, Jr. for appointment as Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth District. You may be sure your recommendation will be given every consideration.

The President appreciates your interest and has asked that I send his best wishes.

Sincerely,

John B Clinton

John B. Clinton
Staff Assistant
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

THE FOLLOWING 2 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 23, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I appreciated your warm and generous telegram commenting on my presentation to the Congress of my voting rights legislation.

I was pleased that you were able to be present in the chamber at that particular time and believe that your presence symbolized the historical character of the moment.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
MAR 24 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am most appreciative of your wire supporting my proposals for Southeast Asia. Your approval is most welcome to me, and I am grateful.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 125th Street
New York, New York 10026

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

We are, of course, aware of the excellent work being done by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in securing support for the voting rights legislation now pending in the Congress. Your efforts and those of your organization have added to the strong prospects for early and favorable action and we wanted you to know of our appreciation.

It occurred to me that you might wish to have a printed copy of the President's message on voting rights delivered to the Joint Session of Congress on March 15 and I am therefore enclosing one.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Enclosure

The President

requests the pleasure of the company of

Mr. Randolph

at dinner

on Tuesday, June 22, 1965

at seven o'clock

To remind

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 27, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

How much satisfaction you must take in seeing the cause for which you have long labored moving toward fulfillment. I am proud of this speech. But you must be prouder still knowing that these words would not have been possible except for your long years of difficult, and often lonely work.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

HBP 002 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK AUG 5 65

LAWRENCE F O'BRIEN
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

I GREATLY REGRET THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO BE PRESENT TO WITNESS THE SIGNING OF THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON, BUT I WANT HIM TO KNOW THAT WE ARE GREATLY GRATEFUL FOR HIS LEADERSHIP IN ACHIEVING THIS HISTORIC OBJECTIVE.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 6, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked me to send you the attached pen used when he signed S. 1564, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Larry

Lawrence F. O'Brien
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
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WMR 63 WC127 =(WMR) GOVT DL PD WUX THE WHITE HOUSE
A PHILIP RANDOLPH = WASHINGTON DC 5 NFT =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO INVITE YOU TO THE SIGNING OF =VOTING RIGHTS FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1965, AT 12:00 P.M. AT THE U. S. CAPITOL. YOU SHOULD PRESENT YOURSELF AT THE CAPITOL NO LATER THAN 11:30 A.M. PLEASE ADVISE ME IF YOUR SCHEDULE WILL PERMIT YOU TO ATTEND. BRING YOUR TELEGRAM AS IT WILL BE YOUR ADMISSION CARD. YOU SHOULD ENTER THE CAPITOL VIA THE HOUSE WING AND REPORT TO THE DOORKEEPER'S OFFICE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES =

LAWRENCE F O'BRIEN SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT.

HBP 002 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK AUG 6 65
H

THE HONORABLE LYNDON B JOHNSON
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

I WISH TO HAIL AND SALUTE YOU ON YOUR GREAT STATESMANSHIP IN ACHIEVING THE HISTORIC VICTORY OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION GUARANTEEING BLACK AMERICANS THE RIGHT TO BXX TO VOTE AND FREEING THEM FROM THE SINISTER LEGACY OF DISENFRANCHISEMENT. YOU MAY BE ASSURED THAT THIS WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENT WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I just want to thank you for your thoughtful and gracious message on the signing of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

I trust that all Americans will now move forward together toward the fuller realization of those basic principles of democracy which our nation so firmly embraces.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

File

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 1, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Your telegram to the President congratulating him for the appointment of Thurgood Marshall has been received and is deeply appreciated.

The President has asked that I send his very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John B. Clinton

John B. Clinton
Staff Assistant
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

527" 024 WUA159(15)BA135
B WWY206 WWZ7 WWZ7 GOVT NL PD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
7
A PHILIP RANDOLPH PRES
BRO OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS 217 WEST 125 ST ROOM 301 NYK

THE PRESIDENT HOPES YOU CAN JOIN HIM AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16 AT 7:30 FOR DINNER AND AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND IDEAS WITH OTHER LEADERS OF THIS COUNTRY. FORMAL INVITATION FOLLOWS. DRESS: BUSINESS SUIT. RSVP

THE SOCIAL SECRETARY THE WHITE HOUSE

912A EDT SEP 8 65

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WUGAGA

HBP 001 PD CHG BROTHERHOOD BSCP SEPT 27 65

LAWRENCE F O'BRIEN
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

I AM PLEASED TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION TO ATTEND SIGNING OF THE HIGH SPEED GROUND TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT ACT, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30 AT 9:45 AM, AND ALSO MEETING SCHEDULED AFTER SIGNING CEREMONY.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

WU R HBP 1 417P THANKS

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 17, 1965

Mr. Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States

Mr. President:

For the American people of African descent, your National Education Program has within it possibilities far more meaningful for the Great Society you envision than any other element of the war on poverty. Under your leadership it can open the way for new investigations and analyses of old historical hypotheses and concepts of race, truly fantastic in this age of scientific research and discovery, which have kept democracy on the defensive for the past two hundred years. Once again, all Americans will have the opportunity to return to the unfinished business of developing the kind of democracy that fired the imagination of so many of the founding fathers.

We address this letter to you, Mr. President, to emphasize that contemporary teaching in our educational systems no longer answers the conditions of modern society; it forms men for the past and not for the present. It is the most prolific source of race friction in American democracy. By the absence from our textbooks and other educational media of facts concerning the creative role of the Negro in the origin and development of the United States and the absolute denial to him of a cultural past comparable to that of other men, our educational systems perpetuate the myth of two kinds of people - one descended from freemen, the other from slaves. Our educational systems deny to all of us, black and white alike, the very necessities, above all the most precious, for a truly democratic state of mind: the power to reason dispassionately, to form hypotheses from an all inclusive view of history and humanity and to try them out of the basis of fact.

We, respectfully, urge you to direct the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Federal Agency which will be charged with the inplementation of your program to investigate with the purpose of eliminating these miss-conception in our history which are used, today, to justify the denial to the Negro of his civil rights. These misconceptions generate in our land a climate of viscousness and bitterness, of hatred between men that no country can endure.

You have said time and again that love cannot be legislated in the hearts of men, We agree . Above all Americans, we of African descent, know from brutish experience the aberrant power of legistative fiat. But if the Afro-American is not to become the instrument which finalizes the destruction of the system of checks and balances, the peragotives of state and federal government that characterized the American concept of Democracy, which should have been the bulwark of his protection and defense, the successful implementation of your Educational Program must go beyond the concept of equal opportunity, of jobs, and address itself urgently to those fallacies in our textbooks which do violence to that which is as precious to the man as his own soul - his history, his culture. Only a people of culture are truly free.

The very first attack upon the fundamental principles of American democracy was the compromise of the constitionalists which made of the black man a "negro" - one fifth a man - removing him from his God given status; Man - Gods unitary creation. The compromise being made and slavery legally and "morally" established, with cold blooded expediency pro-slaver interests hired some of the best intellects of the time,utilized the ~~fx~~ findings of the new natural science and the reports of travelers, themselves merchants of vested interest, disseminated tons of lying literature purporting to show the inherent inferiority of the Negro. The voices of protest at this degredation of the most enlightened experiment in human government were no match against the powers of ambition and greed.

By the late 19th and early 20th century, older conclusions concerning the primacy of the black man's rold in the origin and development of civilization were completely discounted or forgotten. The speculations of the protegonishs of slavery triumphed. Worlddopinion accepted the concept of inferior and superior races. The Emancipation Proclamation did not and could not alone dissipate the forces of the new doctrine, It became the sum and substance of every medium of education and communication.

Today, a schoar of the statue of Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee can say with impunity, "When we classify mankind by color, the only one of the primary races which has not made a creative contribution to any one of our twenty-one civilizations is the black race. Within the last 6000 years the black race has not helped to create any civilization."

Against so formidable an opponent does this nation have the courage and the enlightened generosity to re-open this whole question, and to submit to inspection and analysis the "astounding science which under the name of anthropo-psychology or sociology has done most to destroy the ideas of human dignity and human equality"? This must be done. For today when the most careful historians in the field dare affirm, on the basis of evidence now available, that "Africa in Antiquity and the Middle Ages created and maintained nations, kingdoms and empires equal in some aspects and superior in others to the nations, kingdoms and empires in other parts of the world, instantly the full force of so-call historical authority is brought forth to prove that these cultures and civilizations had nothing to do with the "Negro." "He is not born heir to those lofty moral traditions.... those august rights and dignities of a noble civilization." For what purpose was the so-called Negro differentiated from the great black or Ethiopian race except for the ends of slavery, and of exploitation?

For his own salvation, and for the unity and peace of this nation, the man of African descent demands a new look, a new interpretation of his role in civilization and in our country. Dare his government and his fellow citizens deny him this or offer him less? Not if we genuinely believe that it is the destiny of mankind in America to live together in brotherhood and in peace!

The time is right for it. Even now the Catholic Church sets up the precedent. She has demonstrated to us that the most powerful non-political power in our world can move to evaluate old fallacies and inequities in the lights of modern thought and beliefs. Others too must discard the historic fallacies inherited from Middle Age European thought. Then it was that the priviliged classes of Europe claimed descent from the heroes of Troy and therefore of "better blood" than the despised peasants, a common fellow who, they said descended from and bore the curse of Ham. As late as the Napoleonic era attempts were made to revive this interpretation of the origin of the lower classes of Europe. Failing in this, new so-called scientific theoriss were devised to create on that continent superior and inferior people. A development which until recently was reflected in our USS quota laws. In the meantime, pro-slavery elements, themselves in the main decendants of European peasantry, transferred to the shoulders of the enslaved African the burden of Noah's curse.

Certainly blackmen were enslaved. But what school child knows all blackmen were not slaves, even within the United States? Is the school child taught that the very word Slave is descriptive of another people, in another clime, caught up in tthe bonds of involuntary servitude? Does the school child learn that in so far as it concerns Europe, African slavery was the climateri of an institution which in its time engulfed every race that has existed on our globe? In our schools and libraries, one can investigate volume after volume on slavery and nowhere find documents on the subject unrelated to the Negro. Indeed, to the school child and therefore to the adult, black and white alike, the very word Negro is synonymous with slavery.

Wendell Phillips, an extraordinary man of noble birth and infinite wisdom, in his oration on Toussaint L'Ouverture reminded his fellow countrymen that"We the Saxons were slaves for about four hundred years, sold with the land, and our fathers never raised a finger to end that slavery. They waited till Christianity and civilisation, till commerce and the discovery of America melted away their chains ". Actually at the birth of the nation there were more whites than blacks in servitude.

Nothwithstanding their previous condition of servitude, these Saxons are in the vanguard of modern civilization. They have made their courage, their persistency, the measure by which other races are judged.

It is worthwhile listening further to Wendell Phillips. This great patroit could so easily address the best in all of us. " Now races", he says, "love to be judged in two ways- by the great men they produce and by the average merit of the mass of the race. We saxons are proud of Bacon, Shakespeare, Hampden, Washington, Franklin, the stars we have lent to the galaxy of history; and then we turn with equal pride to the average merit of Saxon blood since it streamed from its German home. So again, there are three tests by which races love to be tried. The first, the basis of all, is courage- theelement which says, here and today. 'This continent is mine from the lakes to the Gulf. Let him beware who seeks to divide it.... the second is the recognition that force is doubled by purpose;..... the third element is persistency, endurance; first a purpose, than death or success."

Measured by these standards, Mr. President, no man is free to challenge the claim of the black race to a position equal to that of any race on this earth. We add another quality- more important to our time- generosity, compassion. For this, togehter with the qualities of courage, endurance and persistency was most exemplified in Toussaint L ' Ouverture than in any other conqueror in mofern history, When in 1806, this descendant ofAfrican kings, slave on the island of Haiti, led his people to victory over the combined might of France, Spain and England, he freed every man, woman and child in his domain and extended the hand of brotherhood to their former masters. To Toussaint belongs the glory of establishing the first free republic in the Western Hemisphere. When our country threw off the yoke of tyranny in 1776, she held millions of her fellow men- slaves for life.

Toussaint's life alone destroys the myth that the history of the Negro has nothing to teach the world, and, in an enlightened society, should encourage the desire for a wider acquaintance with this aspect of human history. Our fellow Amsricans will find that the Negro also can turn with pride to the records of his ancestors, slave and free, since leaving the African home.

First, we would like the records corrected to read that Africans were in the Americas long before the advent of their enslavement. When in 1956, the New York Times, reporting on investigations at the University of Witswatersrand, in South Africa, stated that Africans were in the Americas 900 A.D., the announcement was met by a wall of silence from the academic and lay world alike. And the statues of African Gods in temples of American Indians, more carefully investigated, should enlighten us further.

We speak of courage, of explorations- the conquest of a continent- for good or ill the black man had a role in that enterprise:

Alonzo Pietro, pilot of the Nina,flag ship of Columbus in his discovery of the new world. (il Negro)

Estevancio "Little Steve" discoverer of Arizona and one of the first persons to cross the Amarican continent, with two companions, wandered the plains till in 1546, he reached the city of Mexico.

Wright, Negro companion of Spanish explorers

The un-named Negro with DeSoto, who became the second settler of Alabama.

Baptiste Pointe DuSaible, West Indian Negro, first non-Indian to settle on the site that later became Chicago. DuSaible High School is the small monument to the father of Chicago.

PAGE 5 MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION

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NL=Night Letter
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WUE203 PD FAX ATLANTA GA 8 NFT :

= BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL CIO =
: 217 WEST 125 ST NYK

= THE TIME IS NOW FOR THE NATION TO RESPOND TO THE VICIOUS MALTREATMENT = OF DEFENSELESS CITIZENS OF ALABAMA, BECAUSE OF THEIR DESIRE =TO VOTE. I CALL, THEREFORE, ON NATIONAL LEADERS ALL OVER THIS =GREAT LAND OF OURS TO COMMUNICATE IMMEDIATELY WITH PRESIDENT =JOHNSON AND GOV. WALLACE OF ALABAMA, EXPRESSING THE NEED FOR =ACTION TO PROTECT THE LIFE AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF THE =CITIZENRY, WHEREVER IT IS POSSIBLE, IT IS DESIRABLE TO OBTAIN =THE PROTEST OF YOUR LOCAL OFFICIALS BY DELEGATION

OR DEMONSTRATION =AT YOUR CITY HALL OR COUNTY COURTHOUSE

= MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

COPY

August 9, 1965

Mr. Clarence M. Mitchell
Legislative Chairman
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother Mitchell:

I am sorry that I was unable to come to Washington for the signing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. I consider this Act a most important step forward. I want to congratulate you, Joe Rauh, and my many friends in the Leadership Conference for this extraordinary accomplishment.

While I am aware that we must, all of us, give time and energy to the implementation of the new act, I feel we must also give most careful consideration to the next major step in our struggle for full equality. As I have said on many occasions, I believe that the progress we have made at the constitutional and political levels must now be firmly undergirded by economic stability in the Negro community if we are to exercise and expand freedom, and if the ills that plague the Negro family are to be removed.

Poverty is the most compelling moral and practical problem in the Negro community today. Poverty affects Negroes in three groups: the working poor, the unemployed and the unemployables. I believe that we must work to eliminate poverty in all of these groups. But strategically I am convinced that the first major emphasis should be on the working poor. Legislation that would increase the minimum wage and extend to millions of uncovered workers the benefits of the Fair Labor Standards Act would swiftly bring millions and millions of additional dollars into the Negro community - thereby increasing the Negro's ability to improve his conditions of life. At the same time his increased purchasing power would help to stimulate production and to create additional jobs - a very real and necessary contribution to the growth of our society.

I therefore urge that you immediately call a meeting of the members of the Leadership Conference to consider a major campaign to support legislation now before Congress to increase the minimum wage and to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

PAGE 2 MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION

PAGE 2 MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION

PUBLICITY ADVERTISING RESEARCH PROGRAMS

CHANDLER OWEN
AND
ASSOCIATES
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELLORS

KENWOOD 6-1240
409 E. OAKWOOD AVENUE
CHICAGO 53, ILLINOIS

March 25, 1965

Dear Boy: I saw where Webster died while you were holding your executive meeting. I also wondered about you during this civil rights march in Selma. Yesterday on the bus I met Pauline Reed, and with a woman's intuition she asked me to write you this day to see whether you are ill.

I too have been a little under the weather, but the flu has been raging. Don't bother about a long letter but let me know how you are — and tell the whole truth.

Faithfully,

Chandler

RECEIVED
MAR 2[illegible] 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 7, 1965

The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman, Equal Opportunity Employment Commission
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Just a word of remembrance and to congratulate you on the porgram of the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission which you have the honor to serve as Chairman.

May I say that this is perhaps the heart of the whole civil rights program since it deals with the vital question of job opportunity.

One of the requirements for the success of the development of the program of your Commission will be the use of competent, dedicated professional workers. To this end, I want to suggest and recommend Mrs. Consuelo G. Badeau of 2447 Brooklyn, Kansas City, Missouri.

I am enclosing copy of a memorandum indicating her training and experience which will be helpful in forming a judgement of her availability. Mrs. Badeau has had a long business experience which has enabled her to develop competency in working with people and utilizing initiative and imagination in carrying out program. I hope you may give her a hearing so that you may judge her in person.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

cc: Dr. Luther Holcomb
Vice Chairman, Equal Opportunity
Employment Commission

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DEC 30 1965

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This is in reply to your letter of December 7 expressing support for Mrs. Consuelo G. Badeau who has applied for a staff position with this Commission.

Walter G. Davis, our Deputy Executive Director, advises that he has interviewed Mrs. Badeau at the request of Mr. Robert Powell, Vice President of the Laborers International Union.

He further advises of a continued interest in her application which will assure her of serious consideration for a field staff position when this Commission expands its field operations.

I am grateful for your personal interest in this matter and hope that we can act favorably on this application at the appropriate time.

With warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D Roosevelt Jr

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman

JOHN H. SHARON
815 CONNECTICUT AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

March 4, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful letter of February 15. Mrs. Sharon and everyone connected with the Inauguration was highly honored to have you and your friend, Mr. Rustin, attend the Inaugural ceremonies. We were especially impressed by the magnificent address you gave at the Smithsonian Institution on Inauguration Day and that will long rest in our minds as one of the highlights of that great day.

We only hope that we do not have to wait another four years until we have an opportunity to foregather with you and Mr. Rustin.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Sharon

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

REC
MAR 1965
[illegible]

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A. Philip Rand
217 W. 125th S
New York, N.Y.

Dear Brother R

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Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

File

May 20, 1965

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Brother Randolph:

Not merely as a democratic socialist but as a union member in good standing, I am almost broken hearted to see that the chief endorsement of the President's actions in the Dominican Republic comes from labor. (I write as one who has had close relations with Juan Bosch and with certain educational work there which the military destroyed when they deposed him.)

I cannot believe that all labor leaders are either so indebted to President Johnson, or so afraid of what a handful of communists might conceivably do, that they can go along with George Meany, David Dubinsky and others in endorsing the President's imitation of the Russian action in Hungary. Khrushchev intervened against the Hungarian rebellion against what he said would be a fascist take over. President Johnson intervened to prevent what he feared might be a communist take over. Both men acted in complete disregard of the Charter of the UN and, in Johnson's case, of the treaties on which the OAS is founded.

It is by now utterly clear that the Dominican rebels are really the "constitutionalists" who wanted to recall the exiled Bosch, the only man who has been duly elected president of his country. It is the others who are the rebels. The American intervention has not been neutral. This is clear from every story.

Now there is hope that Washington is turning against the junta which in effect it set up and directly supported, by money and otherwise, against the popular rising as well as by the mere presence of so many American troops. General Wessin y Wessin, who helped to overthrow Bosch and then overthrew Reid Cabral is a hated reactionary who is now somewhat behind the scenes. The present head of the junta is Antonio Imbert. He is charged by a man, long resident in the Dominican Republic and in whom I have confidence, with actual distribution in past months of arms to communist elements, which he is entirely willing to use against the democratic followers of Juan Bosch.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

Is labor so sure of the miraculous power of a few communists in the Dominican Republic to take over, or so indebted to Johnson for rather meager favors, that it voluntarily endorses his return to the old imperialist intervention policy which, among other things, produced and trained Trujillo? I know adn respect for their service to labor the men who have voluntarily rushed to endorse Johnson's intervention even though I cannot respect their reasoning. But is it not even now the duty of some other labor men to say that there is another point of view? Are not there men who will urge that, now that Washington has intervened, it should, directly or through the OAS, encourage the establishment of a government free of the military who have so ruthlessly been fighting their own countrymen in the streets of Santo Domingo?

I need hardly tell you that I write as a man strongly opposed to communist totalitarianism and the acts of communist governments in power. I am thoroughly convinced that what the U.S. is doing in the Dominican Republic and, I may add, Vietnam is doing more for communism than communism could do for itself. I am writing this letter to the attached list and with all my heart I hope some of you will feel moved to act. Surely there must be workers who want to speak out on this situation.

Fraternally yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:m

To:

Patrick Gorman, Meatcutters
Paul Jennings, IUE
William Abbott, Rubber Workers
George Burdon, Rubber Workers
Charles Cogen, Teachers
Jerry Wurf, State, County & Municipal Workers
O.A. Knight, Oil Workers
James Patton, Farmers
Ralph Helstein, Packinghouse Workers
A. Philip Randolph, Porters
I.W. Abel, Steelworkers
Michael Quill, Transport Workers
Frank Rosenblum, Clothing Workers
Emil Mazy, Auto Workers
Otto Pragan, Chemical Workers
Emery Bacon, Steelworkers
Larry Rogin, AFL-CIO Education Dept.
Alex Rose, Hatters

MAY 21 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TERN UNION WEST
ELEGRAM TI

HBP 8 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MAY 21 1965
NORMAN THOMAS
112 EAST 19 STREET
NEW YORK CITY

THANKS FOR LETTER CONCERNING USA IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. I AGREE WITH YOU, NOW THAT USA IS IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC IT IS WRONG FOR OUR FORCES TO TAKE SIDES AT ALL, ESPECIALLY WITH MILITARY JUNTA.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH

Telegram

Norman Thomas
112 East 19th St.
New York City, N.Y.

Thanks for letter re USA in ~~San~~ Dominican Republic. I agree with you now that ~~the~~ USA is in Dominican Republic it is wrong for our forces to take sides with ~~military~~ at all especially with military junta

A Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President's address to the Joint Session of Congress on voting rights has been prepared in booklet form and the President thought you would want to have a copy.

I am also enclosing two other Presidential statements -- one on the Ku Klux Klan and a statement made to the Cabinet -- that you may be interested in seeing in full.

Sincerely,

Lee White
Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

October 11, 1965

Mr. Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Since the President has always called in Negro civil rights leaders to the White House for consultation on various civil rights programs, a number of the leaders of our movement feel that as time goes on there is an expressed desire and need for a clearer view as to the size, agenda, leadership, objectives and focus of the conference on the Negro American scheduled for next month.

In this connection representatives of most of the major civil rights groups have met and are in agreement that I raise a basic procedural question with you and others planning the conference. We should like to propose that the leaders of the following organizations each select one representative to join the committee planning the conference:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Congress of Racial Equality
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
National Council of Negro Women
National Urban League
A. Philip Randolph Institute

We feel it is essential that the collective thinking of the civil rights movement be understood and evaluated. I sincerely hope that, as soon as possible, such a proposed civil rights group may be able to come to Washington to sit in on the actual planning of the conference.

For convenience, may I ask you to follow through in this matter with Mr. Bayard Rustin who is coordinating my activities concerning the conference.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked that I send you the enclosed report from the Civil Service Commission indicating the very encouraging and even dramatic results of the Administration's efforts to ensure that Negroes are given a fair break in employment and promotion within the Federal Government.

As you know, the President has consistently and continuously pressed the departments and agencies on this point. His theme has been that we can hardly ask private industry and other levels of government to adopt affirmative programs unless the Federal Government has set a good example. The attached report demonstrates that we have done so.

Sincerely,

Lee White
Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

RECEIVED
NOV 19 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 27, 1965

Dear Mr. Randolph:

This will acknowledge your telegram to the President of November 24, expressing concern about the handling of the representation elections involving the Taxi Drivers' Organizing Committee by the National Labor Relations Board.

I have been advised by the General Counsel of the Board that the Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board in Brooklyn conducted elections involving approximately 10,000 taxicab employees in New York City on July 21, 1965. After the elections were conducted, the Employers and Teamsters Local 826 filed Objections affecting the elections. In addition, a very substantial number of ballots were challenged, of which more than 900 were determinative of the results. The Objections were filed and the challenges of ballots were made pursuant to the Board's Rules and Regulations which provide such procedures for all parties to representation elections.

The Objections, I am further advised, stated many grounds and involved numerous allegations, and in order to make an appropriate determination it was necessary for the Regional Office to conduct a full investigation which required the interviewing and obtaining of statements and affidavits from hundreds of witnesses. Moreover, a time-consuming investigation of more than 900 challenged votes had to be completed before a determination could be made in each of the appropriate units affected by these post-election matters.

It further appears that on July 16, 1965, the Taxi Drivers' Organizing Committee filed a new series of representation petitions involving 42 additional employer fleets in the New York City area. These petitions were processed upon filing, and hearings were held before the Brooklyn Regional Office of the Board in August and September, and ended October 15, 1965. The issues raised, I am told, concerned complex matters of law, and the exhibits alone consisted of thousands of pages, necessitating a detailed analysis of the entire record for the purpose of preparing and issuing a Regional Director's decision.

As to the current status of these matters, the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board advises that the Regional Office has reported that the investigation and determination of the Objections and Challenges growing out of the July 21 elections are in the process of completion and a detailed report is expected to be issued shortly. It is assumed that you are aware that a Regional Director's decision in the representation cases filed July 16 and heard in August through October was issued on November 16, 1965.

Your concern with the time element involved in the handling of these election cases is understandable and your expression of interest is appreciated. I hope the information set out above will be of some assistance in apprising you of the facts involved in these representation election matters and in explaining the sometimes difficult circumstances that complicate the handling of these cases.

Sincerely yours,

Lee White
Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
NOV 23 1965
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 29, 1965

Mr. Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Thank you for your letter of November 15, with material concerning expansion of job opportunities for Negroes in middle and upper grades in the Federal Government.

I think the record is tremendously significant and encouraging. Naturally, the job problem is the most urgent and difficult problem the minorities face. The record indicates that more progress has been made under President Johnson on this front than ever before in the history of this country.

From my sampling of opinions around the country I am impressed with the fact that the credentials of President Johnson as a freedom fighter and champion of civil rights have high acceptability and honor in the Negro community, and this is as it should be on a basis of commitment and achievement of the President in the realm of civil rights.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
217 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

October 7, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lee White, Assistant to the President

FROM: Bayard Rustin, Exec. Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

RE: White House Conference on Negro Family Life

After consultation with Mr. Randolph, I am submitting the attached recommendations for the forthcoming White House Conference on Negro Family Life.

I wish to emphasize that this is a preliminary document whose purpose is to suggest our view of the overall direction the conference should take. Precisely because the problems of Negro family stability are manifold, it is important that the conference not get bogged down in fragmented approaches, but seek rather to focus on the fundamentals.

An additional memorandum dealing with the structure of the conference will be drafted following a proposed meeting of a planning committee around September 15. I have, in the enclosed, suggested the names of a number of people to serve on that committee.

In view of the large number of people who may be expected to attend the conference, the importance of careful planning cannot be overstressed.

I hope you will find these recommendations helpful.

RECOMMENDATIONS

FOR THE

WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON NEGRO FAMILY LIFE

INTRODUCTION

Numerous public and private agencies are already working on specific causes and symptoms of Negro family instability. Their programs range from pre-kindergarten schooling to youth employment centers to family counseling services. These are valuable programs; they must be expanded and supplemented.

The White House Conference, however, should focus on the fundamental problem: the economic instability of the Negro family head. When the head of the Negro family, male or female, is unemployed or underemployed, poorly paid or restricted to menial jobs, he or she is materially and psychologically handicapped in sustaining family life. This is not in the least to deny the impact of slavery or other historical and social factors which have operated against Negro family stability. Rather it is to emphasize that the disadvantageous aspects of the Negro's heritage can only be erased in the context of programs to achieve substantial economic progress and stability.

Such programs, it becomes clear, will aid immeasurably in the nationwide war against poverty and afford opportunities for the Administration to establish new beachheads in that war, utilizing the moral fervor and popular support generated by the civil rights movement. For one thing, the conference will accumulate abundant evidence that the first major step in stabilizing the Negro family - as well as combating poverty generally - would be for the nation to live up to the Employment Act of 1946.

Toward this end, the conference should concentrate on three major tasks. First is to inventory the needs and resources of the Negro community; second is to analyze how these needs can be met and those resources utilized, through public and private action, and third is to formulate a program which can be translated into legislative action.

I Inventory of Needs and Resources

a) Inventory of skills already available in the Negro community. If this information is not presently available, the conference ought to recommend that it be compiled by the Federal Government.

b) Inventory of the extent to which already existing skills in the Negro community are not being utilized in the job market. This inventory should indicate which job categories, if expanded, could be readily filled by qualified Negroes.

c) Inventory of the extent to which Negro family heads require additional training in order to qualify for the job categories that actually are expanding. What kind of training is required?

d) Inventory of skills available in the Negro community for new kinds of jobs which the Government could stimulate - e.g., nonprofessional jobs in the human services (health, education, welfare, recreation, community organization, etc.)

II Meeting the Needs; Utilizing the Resources

Any program which looks toward the long-range achievement of Negro family stability must encourage the upgrading of the skills of the Negro community so that those skills can be matched with present and future job requirements. The respective roles of business, labor and government in the training of Negro workers must be carefully and concretely evaluated. To what extent can private industry be expected to assume this responsibility?

Education and training not only take time; they can be wasteful and a source of frustration for the participants if jobs are scarce. The immediate need, therefore, is for the creation of more jobs at present skill levels or requiring relatively little training.

Given recent trends in education and technology, there is ample evidence that the private sector of the economy can be expected in the coming period to provide only a small percentage of the new unskilled and semiskilled jobs required to reduce significantly the current high rate of unemployment among Negroes. The conference should recognize that the major role must be played by the Federal Government, whose initiative would simultaneously stimulate job-generating activity in the private sector.

The conference ought to explore ways in which expansion of the public sector of the economy would not only create new jobs but also bring additional resources to bear in the war against poverty. Thus, massive housing and urban renewal programs, combined with school and hospital construction, would alleviate the pressure of slum life, ignorance and inadequate health care to which the Negro family is subjected. And, as suggested above, expansion of human services - many of them dealing with the symptoms of Negro family instability - would provide new nonprofessional employment opportunities of the kind that are least susceptible to technological obsolescence.

The above comments are not intended to anticipate the conclusions of the conference but rather to underscore the necessity for a pointed, fundamental approach which utilizes the insights of various disciplines yet is not sidetracked into an eclecticism in which we lose sight of the forest for the trees. To strengthen the unifying theme of the conference, it is proposed that a paper be prepared by the planning and advisory committees for circulation prior to the conference.

III Formulation of a Program

It is hoped that a result of the White House Conference will be a broad program which can be translated into legislative action. The rough draft of such a program should be prepared in advance of the conference and serve as a basis for discussion. Listed below are some of the elements that might comprise the program although, here again, the conference will want to avoid substituting a potpourri of legislative enactments for the kind of comprehensive plan of action that is required to meet the problem.

a) Massive public works investments combined with

b) Upgrading of skills through education and training programs

c) Expansion of employment opportunities in the human care of human beings

d) Increasing the national minimum wage to two dollars an hour

e) Extending coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act

f) Repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act

g) Strengthening the enforcement provisions of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act

h) Subsidizing young people for remaining in school

i) Strengthening the mechanisms for democratic participation of indigenous community groups in planning the war on poverty

IV Committees

To assure the most careful planning of the conference it is proposed that two committees be established. The first, or Planning Committee, would have the responsibility for the overall structure and arrangements. The second, or Advisory Committee, would consist of experts and academicians who can bring special knowledge to the conference from a number of fields. In regard to both committees, the list I suggest below are incomplete and must be broadened. Certain names do, however, come quickly to mind:

PLANNING COMMITTEE

- Jack Conway
- Donald Slaiman
- Norman Hill
- Andrew Biemiller
- Lane Kirkland
- Roy Wilkins *
- Whitney Young
- Martin Luther King*
- Arthur Wright
- John Lewis*
- Dorothy Height
- James Farmer*
- Robert Spike
- Pearl Willen
- Isaiah Minkoff
- Rabbi Joachim Prinz
- Mathew Ahman

(* or a representative)

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

- Frank Riessman
- Michael Harrington
- Leon Keyserling
- Robert Heilbroner
- Patricia Cayo Sexton
- G. Franklin Edwards
- Kenneth Clark
- Vivian Henderson
- Herbert J. Gans
- Nat Goldfinger
- John Kenneth Galbraith
- James Conant
- Thomas Watson
- Robert Lekachman
- Charles Abrams
- Saul Alinsky
- Theodore Hessberg
- Ralph McGill
- Gerhart Colm
- Daniel Bell

plus a representative from the President's Council of Economic Advisors

CGA191 (21)BA750 1965 MAR 26 PM 7 58
B UDA343 PD UD NEW YORK NY 26 707P EST
A PHILIP RANDOLPH
2588 SEVENTH AVE HOUSE7 NYK

WAS EXTREMELY UPSET BY THE NEWS OF YOUR SUDDEN ILLNESS WHICH I DID NOT HEAR UNTIL RETURNING TONEW YORK WITH YOUR GREAT STAMINA AND FORTITUDE I AM CERTAIN THAT YOU WILL BE UP AND ABOUT AGAIN VERY SOON. OUR PRAYERS ARE WITH YOU

ROY WILKINS 20 WEST 40TH ST.

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE A-Y 1966

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

It was so kind of you to send me a telegram on my recent appointment.

Your support has a great deal of meaning to me. The position you have occupied for half a century in this nation as a leader of good and worthy causes makes me doubly grateful to have your support. I look forward to working with you in the future on our most important White House Conference.

With warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

Cliff

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Deputy Special Counsel
to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
127 West 125th Street
New York, New York

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

1966 JUN 22 PM 7 26

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

=GPA19 (01)BD437 :

=B WWY028 WWZ7 WWZ7 PD 3 EXTRA WUX THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON =DC 22 NFT =

A PHILIP RANDOLPH :
AFL-CIO 217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

: YOU ARE INVITED TO AN INFORMAL (OFF THE RECORD) VISIT WITH =THE PRESIDENT AT 5:30 P.M. TOMORROW (THURSDAY PLEASE PRESENT =THIS TELEGRAM AT THE SOUTHWEST GATE FOR ADMISSION =

CLIFFORD L ALEXANDER JR DEPUTY SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT =

WU1201 (R2-65) THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is stination

GPA188 (57)AB521 = 1966 AUG 15 PM 10 04

A LLJ268 PD 4 EXTRA ATLANTA GA 15 718P EST =
A PHILIP RANDOLPH =A PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE =
217 WEST 125TH ST NYK

=WE ARE VERY GREATFUL FOR YOUR CONCERN AND WE APPRECIATE YOUR =TELEGRAM WE CAN REENFORCE OUR POLICY OF NEVER ATTACKING OTHER =BLACK PEOPLE =

MR STOKELY CARMICHEL =

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

WU1201 (R2-65) THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

HONORARY PRESIDENTS
RABBI MAURICE N. EISENDRATH
DR. E. STANLEY JONES
PRESIDENT
DR. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
EXEC. VICE PRESIDENT
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG
TREASURER
PROF. THOMAS I. EMERSON
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DR. JEROME DAVIS
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
REV. ROY W. PFAFF
NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD
REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY
REV. KARL BAEHR
DR. HAROLD A. BOSLEY
NEW YORK CITY
DR. CHARLES F. BOSS, JR.
REV. JOHN L. BRYAN
OF CONN. COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
HARTFORD, CONN.
ELISABETH CHRISTMAN
JACOB CLAYMAN
WASHINGTON, D. C.
PRES. RUFUS E. CLEMENT
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
DR. ALBERT BUCKNER COE
BOSTON
DR. HENRY H. CRANE
DETROIT
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NEW YORK CITY
MRS. BESSIE HOROWITZ
(50 RIVERSIDE DR.) N.Y.C.
KIVIE KAPLAN
BOSTON
MARC KARSON
NEW YORK, N.Y.
PROF. JOHN C. KENNEDY
OBERLIN, OHIO
DR. JOSEPH F. KING
OBERLIN, OHIO
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ROY McCORKEL
SWATHMORE, PA.
REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL
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BOSTON, MASS.
DR. SCOTT NEARING
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NYACK, N. Y.
DR. RALPH W. SOCKMAN
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DR. CARL SOULE
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ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
REV. CALVIN SUTHERLIN
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DR. ARTHUR L. SWIFT, JR.
UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
REV. GEORGE TEAGUE
GLENS FALLS, N. Y.
REV. WALTER E. ULRICH
PLATTE, S. DAKOTA
REV. WALLACE VIETS
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
DR. GOODWIN WATSON
NEW YORK CITY
REV. LOYD D. WORLEY
MILFORD, CONN.
LOUIS ZEMEL
MIDDLEFIELD, CONN.

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, Inc.
A Non-Profit, Non-Political, Religious and Educational Organization
489 OCEAN AVENUE
WEST HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06516

Sept. 4, 1966.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I want to express my deep appreciation to you of the magnificent job that you did on FACE THE NATION. It was superb.

However, I think we have to think something of what we are doing in Vietnam. We are violating the Geneva Agreement of 1954 as U-Thant, Sect. Genl. of the U. N. says. We are murdering innocent, men women and children and spending billions of dollars. Pre .Eisenhower said if the people of Vietnam voted 80% would vote for Ho Chi Minh.

Now why cant you send out to all your locals some of the enclosed leaflets. We will supply them free ?

As a former President of the American Federation of Teachers I am 100% behind what you are trying to do here for racial justice. But why not try to get international justice also.

Do let me hear from you,

Sincerely,

Jerome Davis

Jerome Davis, D. D., LL.D., Litt.D.

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES: ENGLAND — GERALD BAILEY, FRANCE — REV. HENRY ROSER, JAPAN — HACHIRO YUASA, INDIA — K. K. CHANDY
All gifts are tax deductible.

September 14, 1966

Dr. Jerome Davis, D.D.
489 Ocean Avenue
West Haven, Connecticut 06516

Dear Dr. Davis:

Thank you for your letter of September 4. Let me express my great admiration for the great work you are doing for world peace.

Relative to the civil rights movement and Vietnam: May I say that I have expressed my opinion to civil rights leaders to the effect that it would be unfair to the Negro masses for the civil rights leaders to abandon the Mississippi-Alabama front and leave it exposed to the racists of the George Wallace stripe, and turn the Negro's attention and plunge him into participation in demonstrations to end the war in Vietnam. Having long experience in the field of mass movements, I am aware that you cannot fight on two fronts at the same time without sacrificing one.

Of course I consider world peace as the great issue of the world today because of nuclear weaponry. While I am not a philosophical pacifist, since I supported World War II against Naziism and naturally believe in the War of Independence and the Civil War, I opposed the first World War and went to jail following Eugene Debs.

But the civil rights leaders have no mandate from the Negro masses, in view of the crucial crisis of disaster proportions now plagueing the Negro freedom movement, to carry on any broad, massive movement to end the war in Vietnam although I certainly am committed to see it end at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

January 18, 1966
New York

Dear Phil:

Last year, I wrote this. From 5 AM. to 6 AM this morning I revised it.

I send it to you.

Please accept it.

I could not and would not try to publish it without your consent.

I cannot fully judge it. I can only say this is how some of us feel about you.

Fraternally,

Jim Farrell

A. Philip Randolph

Tall, but not as tall as his pure dignity
A man of gentleness,
But fully recognized by but a few
A leader of his people,
And more than a leader,
For his is a manly purity of spirit.
He pierces the future
The future with hope.
There is no one, no one alive
Who can tar Phil Randolph
Tar does not stick to him.

Here is a man whose dedication
Has been the commitment
Of a full and worthy life.
A black man; one with his people.
Only the future can know and give him glory
His is the glory of a man
Who stepped straight above his age.
It is the glory of a man
Who walks the windy roads of history.

Phil Randolph, a comrade,
Is, has been a moment of history.
Phil Randolph has been a living comment of the future
And in his pure way
His character has been veined
With the gentleness of greatness.
No word of honor, no praise, no prize
Has he ever asked.
His life, his work
Are the praise and honor of his character.

Phil Randolph,
As you know,
We are not black and white alone
And opposites like heat and cold.
Wherever we may look
For an unseen future
That we can never know
That we can only help to prepare
We know the only meaning of that future,
We know it is the liberation of mankind.

That is our common faith,
And it makes us comrades.
Phil, your faith is honor
Your faith is courage
Your faith is honesty and dignity.
Your faith is all that is yourself,
A. Philip Randolph.

With these words,
Accept a hand of comradeship and love
From the years of our life,
Down the years of our life
Truth and justice alone have brought you.
And please accept these words,
Not as praise, but as honor
For the day when men are equal.

It is a day when we will be
But memory.
But a day when men will know your name,
They will know the honor of that name,
A. Philip Randolph.
You are a name become a light
That shines upon tomorrow,
You have become a name in the memory
Of mankind.

A. Philip Randolph
A salutation
In and with the hope and faith
For and of the liberation of mankind.

1965-1966

James T. Farrell

February 16, 1966

Mr. James T. Farrell
310 East 44 Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Jim:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great joy upon hearing from you and to receive this poetic profile you have done on myself. I will keep it as one of my most priceless treasures, and I will be pleased were you to publish it.

I hope that I may have an opportunity to see you and have a chat in the not too distant future.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

JANUARY 11 1966

HON LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON D C

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR PEACE OFFENSIVE. IT IS NOBLE AND STATESMAN LIKE IN CONCEPTION AND MASTERFUL IN EXECUTION.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH.

JANUARY 13 1966
#9,

JANUARY 13 1966
HON LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

WISH TO COMMEND AND APPLAUDE YOUR CHALLENGING AND IMPRESSIVE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS IN WHICH YOU, WITH REASON AND FORCE, EXPRESSED YOUR COMMITTMENT TO ADVANCING THE CAUSE OF RACIAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, CIVIL RIGHTS AND LABOR'S RIGHT WAR ON POVERTY AND WORLD PEACE. ITS CLEAR AND UNMISTAKABLE CALL OF HUMANITY IS GOOD FOR THE HUMAN SPIRIT

A PHI[redacted]H.

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT IS A PHOTOCOPY.

THE ORIGINAL IS NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 28, 1966

Dear Phil:

You gratify me with your warm telegram of commendation about my speech at Freedom House.

I cannot tell you how much comfort I receive from the knowledge that you stand by my side.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

WUG GA

HBP 001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK MAR3 66
THE SOCIAL SECRETARY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

A PHILIP RANDOLPH ON UNION ORGANIZATIONAL TOUR. REGRETS UNABLE TO ATTEND LUNCHEON AT WHITE HOUSE THURSDAY, MARCH NINTH.

BERNICE WILDS
SECRETARY TO MR RANDOLPH

May 20, 1966

The Social Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:

I greatly regret I am unable to accept The President's kind invitation to a reception at The White House on Thursday evening, May 26, 1966.

Very truly yours,

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

P
OK THANK YOU

OGAA
HBP001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCPNEW YORK AUG 29 66
THE SOCIAL SECRETARY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

WILL BE GLAD TO JOIN THE PRESIDENT AT WHITE HOUSE FOR INFORMAL DINNER WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31 AT 8:00 PM.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH
PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

GA WUF

HBP 001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK NOV 2 66

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS HAIL AND SALUTE YOU UPON YOUR CHALLENGING CRUSADE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. WE ARE HAPPY FOR YOUR SAFE RETURN WITH MRS JOHNSON WHOSE QUEENLY CHARM, GRACE AND ~~DIGN~~ DIGNITY CAPTURED THE AFFECTION AND DEVOTION OF THE MILLIONS OF ASIANS, TO THE JOY AND DELIGHT OF ALL AMERICANS.

A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEPING CAR PORTERS

The President
requests the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Randolph
at a reception to be held at
The White House
Thursday evening, May 26, 1966
at 6:30 o'clock

Honoring Ambassadors
of the
Organization of African Unity States

QG

Mr. A. Philip Randolph

will please present this card at
THE SOUTHWEST GATE
The White House
Thursday, May 26, 1966
at 6:30 o'clock
NOT TRANSFERABLE

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

Please send response to
The Social Secretary
The White House
at your earliest convenience

THE FOLLOWING 2 DOCUMENTS ARE PHOTOCOPIES.

THE ORIGINALS ARE NOT IN THE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH COLLECTION AT

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 21, 1966

Dear Phil:

My return to health was quickened by the thoughtfulness of so many good friends.

Mrs. Johnson and I are grateful to you for thinking of us.

Sincerely,

Lyndon B. Johnson

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

[redacted]

December 19, 1966

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to express my great gratitude for the high honor you bestowed upon me in designating me as one of the members of the delegation, under the leadership of the distinguished Chief Justice Earl Warren, to represent your great Administration and our great country at the celebration of the independence of Barbados.

I have the honor to report to you that it was an eventful, rewarding and enriching experience. The Barbadians are some of the most highly literate people of the world and they are immensely charming.

May I wish for you and Mrs. Johnson a blessed Christmas and a New Year of peace and happiness.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

OLYMPIAN
MOTOR HOTEL
DUNKIRK 5-7141
TELETYPE 213-380-8850
1903 WEST OLYMPIC BOULEVARD • LOS ANGELES 6, CALIFORNIA

July20,1966

Mr. A Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125 Street
New York City

Dear Phil;

I have spent the last three months on tour of many ILGWU., centers around the country. This period of reorientation has brought me into contact with the large problems of the Negro and the rest of the American community. T here are hours when I nearly despair, and feel that there will never be meaningful dialogue between the masses of black and white citizens; and I'm not referring to the South.

However, this note is for another purpose. On a recent trip home to Chicago, there was a letter from you concerning South Africa. I have either lost the letter or left it in Chicago, unfortunatley I donot remember the details. The decision of the International Court of Justice on South West Africa, a day or so ago reminded me sharply of my unfinished business. I,of course, support the proposal you made on South Africa and will make a modest contribution if this is what is wanted.

I hope that you are well. I will call your office when next in New York and hope that you will be able to fit me into your schedule.

Sincerely and affectionately,

Maida

Maida Springer Kemp

·Resort Living in the Heart of Downtown Los Angeles · 6 Blocks from All Freeways · Free Parking ·

August 1, 1966

Mrs. Maida Springer
401 East 32nd Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Maida:

Thanks a lot for your letter of July 20, 1966 while you are on tour for ILGWU. I hope you are enjoying the best of health and that your tour is a pleasant one.

May I express my appreciation for your support of my proposal to fight appartheid in South Africa. Of course, I knew you would support such a program.

When you are in New York again I hope you will give me a ring so that we may have a chat.

Kindly remember me to Jim.

Cordially and Fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

[1966]

Martin Luther King
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Stokely Carmichael
SNCC
8½ Raymond Street
Atlanta, Georgia

James Meredith
Columbia University Law School
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

In communications from Wilkins, McKissick & Young I am relieved to learn that August 21 NBC program will be composed of basic statements of organizational policy rather than a debate which could provide mass media opportunity to exploit our differences. Hope all goes well.

A. Philip Randolph

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, N.Y.

Floyd McKissick
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

I am relieved to learn that August 21 NBC program will be composed of basic statements of organizational policy rather than a debate which could provide mass media opportunity to exploit our differences. Hope all goes well.

A. Philip Randolph

MU4-6400

File

Pershing Hotel
6400 S. Cottage Grove
Chicago, Ill. 60637
Oct. 24, 1966

Dear Randolph:

I hate to disturb a busy friend, but the conditions make it imperative. I haven't heard from you in a long time, except indirectly through people like Prof. Wakin of Columbia.

Within the next six weeks I shall probably have to spend every other week in New York, if I can hold out till then. Meantime, I feel like suicide, were it not for my insurance policies which won't pay for suicide.

Anyway let me have a word from you.

Hastily but sincerely,

Chandler

RECEIVED
OCT 26 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 20, 1966

Mr. Chandler Owen
Pershing Hotel
6400 S. Cottage Grove
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Boy:

Find enclosed check for twenty-five dollars. I wish I could send you more.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. Keep the best of health.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Dec. 28, 1966

Dear Boy: Thanks a million. It came just in time — 2 days before Xmas.

I'm happy too that we are closer together. I've been tipped off that very shortly I'll get the magnificent sum of $150,000! No, I didn't make a mistake & I'm talking about the federal government. Then we'll take a vacation someplace you say. I have the basic facts in writing by the U.S. Treasury.

Have a nice New Year and stay at the airplanes.

Always your steadfast friend,

Boy

Chandler

March 17, 1966

The Honorable Nelson A. Rockefeller
The Governor of New York
22 West 55th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Governor Rockefeller:

I want to thank you for your letter of March 11 informing me of the appointment of the Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker as Special Assistant to the Governor on Urban Affairs, and the assignment of the area of his activities.

You have made a happy and constructive choice in securing the services of Reverend Walker. He was one of the outstanding leaders of the civil rights freedom movement and a person of great ability and high integrity.

I note your interest in developing a Committee on an Urban Affairs Conference, on which you invite me to serve as a member. May I say that I will be indeed happy to participate in this splendid enterprise and delighted to cooperate with my good friend, Wyatt Tee Walker, in his work with you, one of the distinguished and able public servants of our times.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

GA WU F

HBP001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK FEB 8 66

SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
1156 FIFTEENTH ST NW
WASHINGTON D C

DEAR MR SHRIVER: THE POOR CHILDREN OF MISSISSIPPI NEED YOUR HELP NOW. YOUR CLOSING OF THE CDGM OFFICES ON FRIDAY AND APPARENT DELAY IN NEGOTIATING A NEW GRANT HAS PRODUCED GREAT CONCERN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. AS YOU WELL KNOW, THE GREAT ENEMY OF THE POOR IS BUREAUCRATIC DELAY. THE HOPE YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE POOR IN MISSISSIPPI IS TURNING INTO FRUSTRATION. I URGE YOU TO IMMEDIATELY PROVIDE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS AND SPEEDY APPROVAL OF THE CDGM HEADSTART PROPOSAL.

- A PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

GA WU F

HBP001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK FEB 8 66

SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
1156 FIFTEENTH ST NW
WASHINGTON D C

DEAR MR SHRIVER: THE POOR CHILDREN OF MISSISSIPPI NEED YOUR HELP NOW. YOUR CLOSING OF THE CDGM OFFICES ON FRIDAY AND APPARENT DELAY IN NEGOTIATING A NEW GRANT HAS PRODUCED GREAT CONCERN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. AS YOU WELL KNOW, THE GREAT ENEMY OF THE POOR IS BUREAUCRATIC DELAY. THE HOPE YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE POOR IN MISSISSIPPI IS TURNING INTO FRUSTRATION. I URGE YOU TO IMMEDIATELY PROVIDE INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS AND SPEEDY APPROVAL OF THE CDGM HEADSTART PROPOSAL.

- A PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

December 20, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Stephens
780 Concourse Village West
Bronx, New York 10457

My dear Friends:

In these times of trials and troubles as our country passes through a baptism of fire under the mighty and massive forces of the great Black Rebellion against centuries of oppression, humiliation and hate, I extend greetings of gladness, happiness and joy to you and your household this Christmas day.

I shall ever remember you with a kindly and friendly heart for your help and neighborly fellowship in my hour of distress and despair as my dear Lucille lay prostrate with illness.

May you and your household ever enjoy the bounty, wonder and mystery of life, and may Heaven sustain and keep you and give you peace.

Always neighborly and sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

Same to: Mr & Mrs Marvin Eckford - 2588 - 7th Ave NYC
Mr & Mrs Augustus ~~Stephens~~ Simmons - 2588 - 7th Ave - NYC

May 11, 1966

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

Dear Norman:

Let me express the great distress I felt upon learning of your unfortunate accident. I am happy to know that you are steadily improving. I keep track of you through Bayard.

With cordial good wishes.

Your sincere friend, brother and comrade,

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

HBP 002 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK FEB 16 66

LEE WHITE
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR HIGHLY DESERVING, SIGNIFICANT APPOINTMENT. BY THE PRESIDENT. YOU ARE ONE OF THE IXXXXX OF THE FINEST MEN I HAVE KNOWN IN PUBLIC LIFE. SUCCESS! '

SINCERELY,
A PHILIP RANDOLPH

FEDERAL POWER COMMISSION
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

March 9, 1966

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Your congratulatory telegram was most welcome. I am looking forward to the new responsibilities with enthusiasm and the faint hope that at last I may have something to say about the pace and the hours I keep.

I don't really expect life at the Commission to be any easier -- just considerably different.

Your thoughtfulness is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Lee White
Lee C. White

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

It has been a great privilege for me to work with and to get to know you. Your contributions to the improvement of man's lot in life has been significant and meaningful. I know you will continue your efforts and, of course, wish you good health and great success. Lee White

[1966]

COPY

Wire sent to: Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, Jr.
Stokely Carmichael, James Meredith, and Floyd McKissick

Am informed that Negro leaders are invited to discuss problems of our movement on N.B.C. television, August 21st.

Sincerely implore you and others to decline N.B.C. invitation.

I fear that atelevissed debate prior to constructive deliberation among ourselves can only further stimulate confusion and disunity, weakening theintegrity and overall aims of our movement.

A. Philip Randolph

night letter sent aug. 1, 1966

COPY

September 15, 1966

Mr. Livingston Wingate, Executive Director
HARYOU-ACT
2092 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ray,

As Chairman of the Committee on Personnel, and with the concurrence of Walter P. Reuther, Chairman, and Richard W. Boone, Executive Director, it is an honor and a pleasure for me to invite you to assume the position of Associate Director of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and Director of its community activities.

Your outstanding work in the anti-poverty programs of Haryou-Act, your grasp of community organization and activity, together with your deep commitment to human dignity and equal opportunity for all people, give you unique qualifications for this job.

In this new position I feel you would have the opportunity to carry forward on a national level those programs which you have started in Harlem. These are programs to dispel hopelessness and despair and secure a fair share of economic and decision making power for those in our nation who are being denied these opportunities.

We sincerely hope you will find it possible to accept this invitation. We would welcome the opportunity of having you work with us in this continuing crusade against poverty.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
for the Personnel Comm.

APR/pm

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

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GPA088 (58)BD300 =B

AHB562 LONG DL PD FAX AH NEW YORK NY 12 437P EDT =

MR A PHILIP RANDOLPH =
217 W 125TH ST NYK =

1966 AUG 12 PM 2 36

WHILE I DEEPLY RESPECT YOUR OPINION RE AUGUST 21ST TV SHOW =HAVE DECIDED TO HOLD TO MY COMMITMENT TO APPEAR PLEASE BE =ASSURED I TOO, RAISE SERIOUS QUESTIONS WHEN THE IDEA WAS FIRST =INTRODUCED AND I ONLY RELUCTANTLY AGREED AFTER IT WAS MADE = CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE NO PUBLIC DEBATE BUT RATHER AN =OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED FOR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP TO CLARIFY =OUR VARIOUS POSITIONS BEFORE AN IMMENSE AUDIENCE UNFORTUNATELY =

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT DIVERGENCIES OF OPINION WILL CEASE = IN THE NEAR FUTURE OR EVEN THAT IT IS DESIRABLE TO HAVE A =MONOLITHIC FRONT OF TOTAL AGREEMENT I APPRECIATE YOUR CONCERN =

WHITNEY M YOUNG JR EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE =

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1966
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE A-X 1967

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

NCR 1201D

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1967 FEB 11 PM 1 24

CGA062 (03)PA346
P WA234 GOVTPD WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 11 1230P EST
A PHILIP RANDOLPH, DONT DWR
230 WEST 150 ST NYK

THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE TO HAVE AN OFF THE RECORD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH YOU ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13, -5 2:00 PM. PLEASE PRESENT THIS TELEGRAM AT THE SOUTHWEST GATE

CLIFFORD L ALEXANDER JR DEPUTY SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
(00).

PAPER PATENTED BY NCR CO.

April 12, 1967

Mr. Joseph A. Califano
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Califano:

Just a word to thank you for your letter of March 18, 1967 with copy of message on Urban and Rural Poverty.

I think the President's Message is comprehensive, sound and challenging.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:mr

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President has asked me to send you a copy of his Message on Poverty.

We would like to get your reaction, and the benefit of your thoughts and experience on this subject.

Sincerely,

Joseph A Califano Jr

Joseph A. Califano
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10012

Enclosure

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 18, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to give me your comments on the President's Message on Urban and Rural Poverty.

We have read them with great interest and your suggestions will receive every consideration.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano Jr.

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street - Room 301
New York, N. Y. 10027

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President asked me to thank you for your telegram concerning his Summer Program Supplemental. The President deeply appreciates your support and asked me to express his gratitude to you.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President was especially pleased to read your wire endorsing his firm stand against lawlessness. He asked me to thank you for giving him your thoughts.

Your encouragement always renews the President's strength to carry the burden of his responsibilities. At a time like this, your support is vital. And he is grateful.

I am happy to enclose a copy of his televised address to the nation Thursday night.

With the President's best wishes,

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Califano, Jr.
Special Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Enclosure

RECEIVED
AUG 4 - [illegible]
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JULY 27, 1967

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO
THE NATION
ON
CIVIL DISORDERS

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

10:30 P.M. EDT

My fellow Americans:

We have endured a week such as no Nation should live through: a time of violence and tragedy.

For a few minutes tonight, I want to talk about that tragedy -- and I want to talk about the deeper questions it raises for us all.

I am tonight appointing a special Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Governor Otto Kerner, of Illinois, has agreed to serve as Chairman. Mayor John Lindsay, of New York, will serve as Vice Chairman. Its other members will include Fred R. Harris, Senator from Oklahoma; Edward W. Brooke, United States Senator from Massachusetts; James C. Corman, U.S. Representative from California, 22nd District, Los Angeles; William M. McCulloch, the U.S. Representative from the State of Ohio, the 4th District; I. W. Abel, the President of the United Steel Workers; Charles B. Thornton, the President, Director and Chairman of the Board of Litton Industries, Inc.; Roy Wilkins, the Executive Director of the NAACP;Katherine Graham Peden, the Commissioner of Commerce of the State of Kentucky; Herbert Jenkins, the Chief of Police, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Commission will investigate the origins of the recent disorders in our cities. It will make recommendations -- to me, to the Congress, to the State Governors, and to the Mayors -- for measures to prevent or contain such disasters in the future.

In their work, the Commission members will have access to the facts that are gathered by Director Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI will continue to exercise its full authority to investigate these riots, in accordance with my standing instructions, and continue to search for evidence of conspiracy.

But even before the Commission begins its work; and even before all the evidence is in, there are some things that we can tell about the outbreaks of this summer.

MORE

(OVER)

RECEIVED
AUG 4 - 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

First -- let there be no mistake about it -- the looting, arson, plunder and pillage which have occurred are not part of a civil rights protest. There is no American right to loot stores, or to burn buildings, or to fire rifles from the rooftops. That is crime -- and crime must be dealt with forcefully, and swiftly, and certainly -- under law.

Innocent people, Negro and white, have been killed. Damage to property -- owned by Negroes and whites -- is calamitous. Worst of all, fear and bitterness which have been loosed will take long months to erase.

The criminals who committed these acts of violence against the people deserve to be punished -- and they must be punished. Explanations may be offered, but nothing can excuse what they have done.

There will be attempts to interpret the events of the past few days. But when violence strikes, then those in public responsibility have an immediate and a very different job: not to analyze, but to end disorder.

That they must seek to do with every means at their command: through local police, state officials, and, -- in extraordinary circumstances where local authorities have stated that they cannot maintain order with their own resources -- then through Federal power that we have limited authority to use.

I have directed the Secretary of Defense to issue new training standards for riot control procedures immediately to National Guard units across the country. Through the Continental Army Command, this expanded training will begin immediately. The National Guard must have the ability to respond effectively, quickly, and appropriately, in conditions of disorder and violence.

Those charged with the responsibility of law enforcement should, and must, be respected by all of our people. The violence must be stopped: quickly, finally, and permanently.

It would compound the tragedy, however, if we should settle for order that is imposed by the muzzle of a gun.

MORE

In America, we seek more than the uneasy calm of martial law. We seek peace based on one man's respect for another man -- and upon mutual respect for law. We seek a public order that is built on steady progress in meeting the needs of all of our people.

Not even the sternest police action, nor the most effective Federal Troops, can ever create lasting peace in our cities.

The only genuine, long-range solution for what has happened lies in an attack -- mounted at every level -- upon the conditions that breed despair and violence. All of us know what those conditions are: ignorance, discrimination, slums, poverty, disease, not enough jobs. We should attack these conditions -- not because we are frightened by conflict, but because we are fired by conscience. We should attack them because there is simply no other way to achieve a decent and orderly society in America.

In the past three and a half years, we have directed the greatest Governmental effort in all of our American history at these ancient enemies. The roll call of those laws reveals the depth of our concern: The Model Cities Act. The Voters Rights Act. The Civil Rights Act. The Rent Supplement Act. Medicare and Medicaid. The 24 educational bills. Head Start. The Job Corps. The Neighborhood Youth Corps. Teacher Corps. Manpower Development and Training. And many, many more acts too numerous to mention on television tonight.

We will continue to press for laws which would protect our citizens from violence: like the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act now under consideration in the Congress and the Gun Control Act.

Our work has just begun. Yet there are those who feel that even this beginning is too much. There are those who would have us turn back even now, at the beginning of this journey.

Last week in Congress, a small but important plan for action in the cities was voted down in the House of Representatives. The members of that body rejected my request for $20 million to fight the pestilence of rats -- rats which prowl in dark alleys and tenements, and attack thousands of city children. The passage of this legislation would have meant much to the children of the slums. A strong government that has spent millions to protect baby calves from worms could surely afford to show as much concern for baby boys and girls.

There are some tonight who feel that we cannot afford a Model Cities program. They reduced my request for funds this year by two-thirds.

There are some who feel that we cannot afford additional good teachers for the children of poverty in urban areas. Or new efforts to house those who are most in need of housing. Or to aid in education to those who need to read and write.

Theirs is a strange system of bookkeeping.

MORE

(OVER)

I believe we should be counting the assets that these measures can bring to America: cities richer in opportunity; cities more full of promise; cities of order, progress, and happiness. Instead, some are counting the seeds of bitterness.

This is not a time for angry reaction. It is a time for action: starting with legislative action to improve the life in our cities. The strength and promise of the law are the surest remedies for tragedy in the streets.

But laws are only one answer. Another answer lies in the way our people will respond to these disturbances.

There is a danger that the worst toll of this tragedy will be counted in the hearts of Americans: in hatred, in insecurity, in fear, in heated words which will not end the conflict, but prolong it.

So let us acknowledge the tragedy; but let us not exaggerate it.

Let us look about tonight. Let us look at ourselves. We will see these things:

Most Americans, Negro and White, are leading decent, responsible and productive lives.

Most Americans, Negro and white, seek safety in their neighborhoods and harmony with their neighbors.

Nothing can destroy good will more than a period of needless strife and suspicion between the races.

Let us condemn the violent few. But let us remember that it is law-abiding Negro families who have really suffered most at the hands of the rioters. It is responsible Negro citizens who hope most fervently -- and need most urgently -- to share in America's growth and prosperity.

This is not the time to turn away from that goal.

To reach it will require more than laws; more than dollars. It will take renewed dedication and understanding in the heart of every citizen.

I know there are millions of men and women tonight who are eager to heal the wounds that we have suffered; who want to get on with the job of teaching and working and building America.

In that spirit, at the conclusion of this address, I will sign a proclamation calling for a day of prayer in our Nation throughout all of our States. On this Sunday, July 30, I urge the citizens in every town, every city, and every home in this Land to go into their churches -- to pray for order and reconciliation among men.

I appeal to every Governor, every Mayor, every preacher and every teacher and parent to join and give leadership in this National observance.

MORE

This spirit of dedication cannot be limited to our public leaders. It must extend to every citizen in this land. And the man who speaks to break the peace must feel the powerful disapproval of all of his neighbors.

Tonight, I call upon every American to search his own heart.

To those who are tempted by violence, I would say this: Think again. Who is really the loser when violence comes? Whose neighborhood is made a shambles? Whose life is threatened most?

If you choose to tear down what other hands have built,

-- You will not succeed;

-- You will suffer most from your own crimes;

-- You will learn that there are no victors in the aftermath of violence.

The apostles of violence, with their ugly drumbeat of hatred, must know that they are now heading for disaster. And every man who really wants progress or justice or equality must stand against them and their miserable virus of hate.

For other Americans, especially those in positions of public trust, I have this message:

Yours is the duty to bring about a peaceful change in America. If your response to these tragic events is only "business as usual" -- you invite not only disaster, but dishonor.

My fellow citizens, let us go about our work. Let us clear the streets of rubble and quench the fires that hatred set. Let us feed and care for those who have suffered at the rioter's hands -- but let there be no bonus or reward or salutes for those who have inflicted that suffering.

Let us resolve that this violence is going to stop and there will be no bonus to flow from it. We can stop it. We must stop it. We will stop it.

And let us build something much more lasting: faith between man and man, faith between race and race. Faith in each other -- and faith in the promise of beautiful America.

Let us pray for the day when "mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other." Let us pray -- and let us work for better jobs and better housing and better education that so many millions of our own fellow Americans need so much tonight.

Let us then act in the Congress, in the city halls, and in every community, so that this great land of ours may truly be "one Nation under God -- with liberty and justice for all."

Goodnight and thank you.

END AT 10:48 P.M. EDT

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM ®

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

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=GPA016 (-58)SYB345 =

1967 SEP 9 AM 10 52

SY WWY368 WWZ6 WWZ6 GOVT NL PD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC
SEP 8

= A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, DONT DWR =
217 WEST 125 ST NYK =

THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE YOU TO ATTEND A MEETING WITH HIM IN THE CABINET ROOM AT 11:30 A.M. ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13. PLEASE NOTIFY MY OFFICE WHETHER YOU WILL BE ABLE TO BE PRESENT. MY TELEPHONE NUMBER IS 202-456-2280 =

DOUGLASS CATER SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Telephoned regrets 9-12-67

WU1201 (R2-65) THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

October 17, 1967

Mr. C. L. Dellums
International Vice President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
1716-18 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94607

Dear C. L.

Find enclosed copy of letter which is self-explanatory. If, as, and when you hear from the White House on this question, I hope you may find it convenient to serve.

Fraternally yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Enclosure

THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1967

Dear Phil:

The Urban Coalition is truly an historic expression of this Nation's commitment to meet the challenge that faces the people of our cities.

I have read your program and your resolutions. They are most constructive. I know they will be helpful to the Nation in achieving the goals we seek.

When the steering committee meets again in Washington, I hope to have the opportunity to meet with you and discuss our common objectives. I pledge to you my assistance in the task before us.

Sincerely,

Hubert H.

Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 2, 1967

Dear Phil:

From what I hear, the Barbadians enjoyed you as much as you did them.

I am not surprised. It is always a happy time for all when you bring America's greetings and display America's quality to the world.

I am grateful for your service and wish you all the blessings of the New Year.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car
Porters, AFL-CIO
Room 301
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

The President and Mrs. Johnson
request the pleasure of the company of
Mr. Randolph
at dinner
on Tuesday, February 14, 1967
at eight o'clock

On the occasion of the visit
of
His Imperial Majesty
Haile Selassie I
Emperor of Ethiopia

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 15, 1967

Dear Phil:

I appreciate your telegram of congratulations on the 1967 civil rights bill.

I know it is going to require the dedicated and tireless efforts of many men and women to gain approval for the bill in Congress. That it will be difficult this year is obvious. But the principle of the bill is right, and it must be placed before the country until justice prevails.

We missed you the other day. I hope your illness passes soon. You are needed.

Very truly,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President, Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

The President

requests the pleasure of the company of

Mr. Randolph

at luncheon

on Thursday, March 9, 1967

at one o'clock

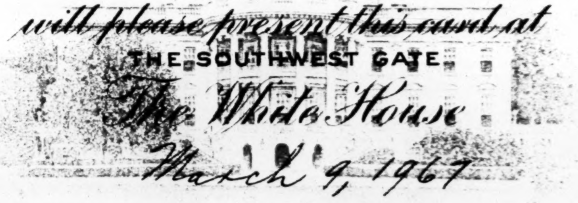
Please send response to

The Social Secretary

The White House

at your earliest convenience

LB



Mr. A. Philip Randolph

will please present this card at

THE SOUTHWEST GATE

The White House

March 9, 1967

at one o'clock

NOT TRANSFERABLE

Telefax ~~WESTERN UNION~~ Telefax

SENDING BLANK

FEB. "67

CALL LETTERS FCL PD

CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

In the name of the officers and members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters I extend sincere congratulations upon your call upon Congress for additional appropriation of 75 million dollars for the war on poverty. We are extremely appreciative of your great wisdom in taking this action at this time.

A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R 4-55)

WIRE SENT MAY 23,1967

LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I URGE YOU TO USE YOUR GOOD OFFICES FOR THE MAINTAINANCE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SINCERELY,

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING
CAR PORTERS, AFL-CIO

WESTERN UNION

Telefax SENDING BLANK 4/17/67 Telefax

CALL LETTERS FCL FAST CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTER

PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR GREAT STATESMANSHIP IN CALLING AND DEVELOPING PUNTA BELL ESTE CONFERENCE IN THIS CRUCIAL HOUR IN A CRUCIAL AREA.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R 4-55)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
International President

BENNIE SMITH
1st International Vice-President
1308 Broadway, Room 305
Detroit, Michigan 48226

C. L. DELLUMS
2nd International Vice-President
1716 Seventh Street
Oakland, California 94607

BROTHERHOOD
of
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
Train, Chair Car, Coach Porters and Attendants
AN INTERNATIONAL UNION
Affiliated with the AFL-CIO/CLC

217 WEST 125th STREET - Room 301
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027
MOnument 2-5080 - 1

WILLIAM H. BOWE
International Secretary-Treasurer

T. D. McNEAL
3rd International Vice-President
Gateway National Bank Building
3412 North Union Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri 63115

B. F. McLAURIN
Eastern Zone Supervisor
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

July 18, 1967

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

The rioting across the country, and especially the particular phase as demonstrated in Newark, reveals an acceleration not only of despair and hopelessness but of the technique of expressing those qualities in the rioting itself. A crisis of serious proportions has descended upon our cities, creating for our society a tremendous challenge which also will increasingly separate the relevant Negro leadership from the masses of unemployed and disinherited Negro people.

We in the Negro community condemn rioting and have for generations sought to bring about the kind of social and economic progress that would meet the aspirations of the Negro people and render civic disorder impossible. We can now only conclude that the gap between progress and aspirations is so tremendous as to make it imperative that the federal, state and city governments unite to establish priorities to meet the social needs which lie at the root of civic disorder. The major responsibility for all of us is the establishment of such priorities as to make work available for those in the ghettos.

I urgently request that you personally convene a small group of responsible national leadership, including civil rights leaders, in order that we may lay before you for your consideration certain unified steps which we believe the governors, mayors, business leaders, trade unionists, civil rights leaders and church leaders may take in order to deal with the basic causes of rioting.

I am convinced that the only alternative to such a course as I have proposed is further social chaos, which could lead only to further violence and deterioration in the Negro ghettos in our major cities and throughout our nation.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

McFALL
PRESIDENT

1967 SEP 12 PM 6 44

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=GPA115 (36)BC424 =B ZPB015 12 108P EDT

(DE WA129) GOVT PD THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC =

DLR A PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT, DONT DWR =
FAX OUT RTE GP BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEELNG CAR PORTERS
217 WEST =125 ST NYK =

THE PRESIDENT INVITES YOU TO A STAG LUNCHEON FRIDAY SEPTEMBER =15, 1967, AT ONE OCLOCK, THE WHITE HOUSE. PLEASE PRESENT THIS =TELEGRAM AT THE SOUTHWEST GAGE. RSVP =

THE SOCIAL SECRETARY THE WHITE HOUSE = =

Sent regrets via telephone
9-13-67

15 1967 =. =

WU1201 (R2-65) THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Western Union

FCL

9-13-67

Via telephone

The Social Secretary
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Greatly appreciate invitation to luncheon, Friday, ~~Sxp~~ September 15 but regret will be unable to attend because of commitment in Jacksonville, Florida.

A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax
SENDING BLANK 4/17/67

CALL LETTERS fcl FAST CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTER

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA, GA.

CONGRATULATION UPON YOUR MASTERFUL STATEMENT ON FACE THE NATION SUNDAY.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD
1269—(R 4-55)

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax

SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS FCL - PD 10/10/67 CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

George Meany, President AFL-CIO
815 Sixteenth St., N.W. Washington D C

I recommend approval of request from UAW for exoneration from two months AFL-CIO per capita tax because of strike expense.

A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R 4-55)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

GPA130 (03)SYE393 = 1967 OCT 9 PM 9 20

SY WWY133 WWZ7 WWZ7 PD WASHINGTON DC 9 NFT =
PHILIP RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT, BROTHERHOOD OF
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS = 217 WEST 125TH ST NYK =

WE HAVE RECEIVED A REQUEST FROM SECRETARY-TREASURER MAZEY =OF UAW REQUESTING EXONERATION FROM TWO MONTHS AFL-CIO PER CAPITA =TAX BECAUSE OF THE HEAVY EXPENSE OF THE STRIKE IN WHICH THEY =ARE ENGAGED WITH THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY AS WELL AS OTHER STRIKES =NOW INVOLVING MORE THAN 200,000 UAW MEMBERS. I RECOMMEND APPROVAL =OF THIS REQUEST. PLEASE ADVISE YOUR POSITION ON THE MATTER =

GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT AFL-CIO. =

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE ELECTIONS IN SUNFLOWER
799 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 674-6810

MEMBERS
Daniel Aaron
Jane Adams
Mathew Ahmann
Milnor Alexander
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Grover C. Bagby
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Algernon D. Black
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Harold Taylor
Jacob J. Weinstein
Aaron O. Wells
Howard Zinn

Sandra Nystrom, *Administrator*
Eleanor H. Norton, *Treasurer*

April 19, 1967

Miss Bernice Wilds
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Miss Wilds:

Rachelle Horowitz said I should send you the enclosed copies of the fund-appeal letter which Mr. Randolph signed for distribution to unions by the National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower. If you need additional copies for any reason, call me and I'll send them to you.

Sincerely,

Sandra Nyst

Sandra Nystrom
Administrator

encls.

cc: Miss Rachelle Horowitz

33

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Sandra Nystrom, *Administrator*
Eleanor H. Norton, *Treasurer*

April, 1967

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The federal courts have overturned municipal elections throughout Sunflower County, Senator Eastland's home. New elections have been ordered because Negroes were denied the vote in the original elections. The first two of six towns, Sunflower and Moorhead, will have new elections May 2, 1967.

Sunflower is surrounded by other counties which have been assigned federal voting registrars. Neither the obvious need there nor the considerable pressure from citizens and congressmen alike has succeeded in the assignment of a single federal voting registrar to Sunflower County. Eastland has seen to that. We must see to it that basic protections are not denied Negroes simply because they live in the home counties of powerful segregationists.

Positive election results in Sunflower and Moorhead would be the first significant defeat for the anti-union, racist Eastland establishment, based in that county. A positive result in these elections would mean a real opportunity for true progress through the ballot in the South.

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Sunflower Negroes need help from our unions, in whose footsteps they are following. They desperately need funds for organization and education, and for help in training leaders.

Never before has there been such a chance for unions to align themselves with forces of progress so close to the seat of Southern anti-union and racist power. If the Sunflower elections fail because we have ignored them, we shall all be the losers.

I urge your union to contribute what it can to insure that this crucial fight--your fight as well as theirs--is not lost. Checks should be made payable to Sunflower Fund at the above address. The first two elections are scheduled for May 2, so promptness of action is important.

Sincerely and fraternally,

A Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

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Sandra Nystrom, *Administrator*
Eleanor H. Norton, *Treasurer*

April 10, 1967

Dear National Committee Members:

Enclosed is the progress report of the National Committee for Free Elections in Sunflower. Thanks to you the committee was formed last summer. It began to function in December and has accomplished a great deal in the way of fund-raising, publicity and support for Sunflower Negroes seeking to vote and run for office for the first time in their lives.

Special elections have been set for May 2 in the towns of Sunflower and Moorhead. Plans are going ahead to provide the help that will be necessary to assure victory.

A "Victory Day" is being planned for one day before the elections, May 1. Dinners will be held in both towns for the citizens and leading entertainers and national figures will help to dramatize the elections the following day and to convince Negro citizens to vote.

We hope that as many of you as possible will go to Sunflower for May 1 and 2. Your presence will help insure that the nation's attention focuses on the exercise of freedom--or the lack thereof. Please inform the National Committee of your plans so that the people in Sunflower will know how many to expect, and so that the national press can be advised.

Mr. Joseph Harris, director of the elections project, advises that lodgings are available for visitors. Cars should also be available, but all who can do so are urged to provide their own transportation. Mr. Harris' address is P.O. Box 447, Sunflower, Mississippi, and his telephone number is (601) Sunflower 17.

Best wishes. Hope to see you in Sunflower.

Sincerely,

Sandra Nystrom

Sandra Nystrom
Administrator

encl.

RECEIVED
APR 17
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

33

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE ELECTIONS IN SUNFLOWER
799 Broadway, Suite 412, New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 674-6810

PROGRESS REPORT
(April 6, 1967)

I. Introduction: Progress and Goals.

After nearly a year of waiting, the Federal District Court has set May 2, 1967 as the date for special elections in two towns in Sunflower County, Sunflower (town) and Moorhead. With an actual date in sight voter registration, organization and education have become concentrated activities in these towns. Sunflower town has a total population of approximately 800, of which 70 percent are Negroes. With 211 registered Negroes and 175 registered whites, Negroes have an edge of 36. In Moorhead registration figures are less impressive. A total of 400 Negroes as compared to 564 whites were registered as of the close of registration for the May 2 elections. However, enthusiasm among the Negro candidates and population in Moorhead runs every bit as high as in Sunflower because of the unprecedented opportunity to run for office in the home county of Senator James O. Eastland and its symbolic effect for the county elections and general state-wide elections in November.

A tightly organized campaign to get out the voters is in progress in these towns. A system of block captains will insure that each voter is regularly contacted and prepared for the May 2 elections. Several rehearsal elections are planned so that Sunflower Negroes, who have never in their lives voted, will be thoroughly acquainted with the electoral mechanism.

Not only in Sunflower but in the North as well, there has been increasing interest and activity in support of the May 2 elections. Especially in New York, where the National Committee office is located, many people are being reached and are contributing money. Moreover, volunteers are being recruited to go to Sunflower County to offer workshops in municipal government and political education and otherwise to offer their expertise to voters and candidates.

In light of the success that now appears imminent, at least in Sunflower town, and the strategic importance of this county to the inauguration of truly representative government and Negro participation in politics in the South, Sunflower Negroes have asked that the National Committee operate at least through the close of county registration in July and if possible until November when county-wide elections take place. The goal would be the capture of Sunflower County by reformers, including Negroes and whatever whites can be persuaded to break away from the Eastland machine. The county elections promise to be an uphill fight, for Negro registration in Sunflower County is not nearly on a par with the registration in Sunflower town. Although Negroes are 60 percent of the population in Sunflower County, only 28 percent are now registered. Terrorism in Indianola, the county seat and the stronghold of the Negro population, has kept Negro registration low. A well financed, highly organized drive can produce an important breakthrough in registration in one of the toughest counties in the South and can make Sunflower a model for reform electoral activity for Negroes and whites who seek to bring democracy to that region.

The following progress report, done in outline for ease in reading, demonstrates ever-widening support and financial commitment to the May 2 elections.

II. Time Table.

A. March 3: Registration cut-off for May elections.

B. April 3: Deadline for filing candidate petitions.

C. MAY 2: ELECTIONS IN TOWNS OF SUNFLOWER AND MOORHEAD.

III. Financial Report.

A. On April 6, 1967, the Committee had received $11,665.93 and had spent $8,210.57, leaving a balance of $3,455.36.

B. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer spent 10 days in New York City between March 4 and 14. The following events in her honor raised $7,161.10:

1. Reformers for Free Elections in Sunflower, Miss, organized by Mrs. Sarah Kovner (Reform Democrats):
    a. $1,043.50 - Brunch in a hall donated by the Shirt and Leisurewear Joint Board.
    b. $1,503.60 - Street solicitations in New York City in February (prior to Hamer visit.)
2. $1,432.00 - Mr. William Myers organized a house party in Great Neck, New York.
3. $450.00 - Mrs. Henry Eastland organized a party in South Norwalk, Connecticut.
4. $2,690.00 - Liaison, a group of young Negro women, held a reception in honor of Mrs. Hamer at the home of the African drummer Babatunde Olatunji and his wife. The reception committee was chaired by Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Clark. Sponsors included Mr. and Mrs. Harry Belafonte, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Bayard Rustin.
5. $42.00 - Rally sponsored by Columbia University students.

C. $999.86 - Theatre benefit of MacBird sponsored by the New York Committee for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

D. $2,196.51 - A letter from Julian Bond soliciting funds was sent to 5,500 people from a national mailing list contributed by various organizations; contributions are still coming in. See enclosure.

E. A list of other organizations contributing $100.00 or more follows:

1.	American Civil Liberties Union	$100.00
2.	Community Church of New York	100.00
3.	Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee	100.00
4.	National Council of Churches	100.00
5.	National Student Association	100.00
6.	New York Civil Liberties Union	100.00
7.	Southern Conference Educational Fund	350.00

F. $358.46 - Individual contributions.

IV. Publicity (Directed by Miss Patricia Horan).

Mrs. Hamer's visit brought considerable publicity:

A. Community Church Sunday service, March 5, with the Reverend Donald Szantho Harrington, broadcast on WQXR.

B. Mike Wallace Show, taped on March 6 by CBS for future national broadcasting.

C. Newsfronts, broadcast by National Educational Television (NET) on March 6.

D. Casper Citron Show, broadcast by WRFM-FM on March 7.

E. Long John Neble Show, broadcast by NBC on March 11.

F. Press conference with the Honorable Percy Sutton in the offices of the Manhattan Borough President on March 13. See enclosure. Mrs. Hamer's press conference was covered by 4 major New York newspapers and leading independent newspapers, and was picked up by the news services and mentioned on radio and TV.

G. The Village Voice, March 16, "Making the Vote Count on Eastland's Plantation."

H. The National Guardian, March 18, "Mrs. Hamer 'Briefs' U.S. on Sunflower election."

I. The New Republic, April 8, "Sunflower in the Spring."

V. Plans.

A. High-level delegation meeting with Attorney General Ramsey Clark to demand federal registrars, examiners, and poll-watchers for Sunflower.

B. M.F.D.P. state-wide convention Sunday, April 16 to mobilize entire state behind May 2 elections.

C. Fund-raising and support letter to trade union officials from Mr. A. Philip Randolph. See enclosure.

D. Resource people, including the Honorable Percy Sutton, Assemblyman Charles Rangell, and Paul O'Dwyer, Esq., are scheduled to conduct workshops and appear at the state-wide convention and mass meetings in Sunflower County.

E. "Victory Day" one day before election to encourage voters and candidates. Leading entertainers, National Committee members and other national figures will be on hand.

F. Projected budget requested by the Sunflower County election organization.*

a. Municipal elections through May 2	$4,000.00
b. County registration drive through July 7	9,000.00
Total	$13,000.00

*Includes only on-the-spot Southern activity.

Respectfully submitted,

Sandra Nystrom
Administrator

JULIAN BOND
823 DRUMMOND STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

February, 1967

Dear Friends,

Twice denied by the Georgia Legislature, my right to represent the people who elected me was recently upheld by a unanimous Supreme Court decision.

Now, for the first time since Reconstruction (nearly 100 years) the Negro majority in Sunflower, Mississippi, has a chance to elect a representative local government.

Almost a year ago, a federal court set aside Sunflower's municipal elections on the ground that the majority had been systematically denied the right to vote. Mississippi appealed this decision but lost. The last legal barrier has been hurdled, and new elections anticipated for the spring of this year have been ordered for Sunflower.

An electoral victory in Sunflower will have inspirational and organizational impact on the 1967 county elections throughout Mississippi and the entire South, especially where Negroes constitute the voting age majority. Such a victory will also strike a staggering blow to that arch representative of racist power, Senator James O. Eastland, who runs a 5,800-acre plantation in Sunflower County.

The people of Sunflower have demonstrated their determination to register and to vote. To win their battle against fear and economic and physical intimidation, they need your help.

Funds will be needed to conduct voter-education workshops and registration drives. Technical assistance must be provided for prospective candidates. Most of all, local organizers must be supported so that they can work freely until the election is held. Support will also be needed for those who may be denied welfare assistance because they attempt to vote. At least $10,000 will be needed.

National civic and political support must be mobilized to guarantee free elections in Sunflower. Community and organizational leaders must urge their congressmen to use their full powers 1) to assure the assignment of federal registrars, examiners and official election observers to Sunflower, and 2) to demand that welfare, Office of Economic Opportunity and other federally funded services not be used by the Eastland racist forces to coerce Sunflower voters.

Your full support is needed at once. Please contribute as much as you can to the SUNFLOWER FUND and indicate on the enclosed card what else you will do. A real change is possible--but only if you help.

Sincerely,

Julian Bond

JULIAN BOND

33

Contact: Miss Sandra Nystrom
674-6810
or
Mrs. Eleanor Holmes Norton
675-5990

For immediate release

MISSISSIPPI LEADER CHARGES JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WITH BOWING TO EASTLAND DEMANDS, SCORES CONGRESS IN POWELL OUSTER

March 13--At a news conference held this morning at the offices of Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a founder and vice-chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, charged the Justice Department with bowing to the dictates of Senator James O. Eastland in not assigning federal voting registrars and other officials to his home county, Sunflower. She referred to the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell by Congress as "raising questions never raised before" by Negroes, and urged that the legality of the seating of the Mississippi delegation be examined by Congress now, in answer to the nationwide demands of Negroes.

Negroes will run in the towns of Sunflower and Moorhead, both in Sunflower county, for top municipal offices on May 2, as a result of a suit brought by Mrs. Hamer challenging past elections in which Negroes were not allowed to vote. The court decision following that suit was the first in the history of the United States to overthrow elections due to a pattern of racial discrimination imposed on voters. Sunflower County is the only one in a wide area never visited by federal registrars.

Mrs. Hamer called on newly-sworn-in Attorney General Ramsey Clark to prove his record as a "liberal Southerner," saying, "Will he bow to Eastland too? We say to Ramsey Clark he will have to show us before May 2 by sending in federal registrars, examiners and poll watchers."

(more)

The Mississippi leader, widely known as the most dynamic woman to come out of the civil rights movement, cited the fifteen thousand pages of testimony the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party submitted to Congress in 1965 to prove the illegality of the seating of five of that state's congressmen and said, "It seems strange that in Mississippi, when we are finally able to run for office, black people in New York City have lost the only congressman they have ever had." She pointed out increased tension in the ghettos as well as rural areas over the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell and urged that Congress re-examine those volumes of testimony to restore the faith lost by Negro Americans in the impartiality of Congress.

Despite the reports of "some northern civil rights leaders," Mrs. Hamer said, violence is not ending in the South. She cited the February 27 death by bombing of Natchez Negro leader Wharlest Jackson and the burning of a church in which she was to speak a few weeks ago as proof that the May 2 Sunflower election candidates can expect physical as well as economic reprisals from the white community.

Noting that Jackson was said to have been killed "because he was upgraded to a job held by white men," she asked "aren't we in danger for fighting for a white man's political office?"

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April, 1967

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Sincerely and fraternally,

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Sandra Nystrom, *Administrator*
Eleanor H. Norton, *Treasurer*

6400 S. Cottage Grove Ave.,
Chicago, Ill. 60637

March 10, 1967

Dear Boy: I am almost out of the woods forever. I have notice that I'll get a big check from both the old age pension and (of all things) a huge one from my service in the First World War when you and I were most of the time at 2305 – 7th Ave. For these two checks the Government will pay 12 months in advance and then after 30 days, over $200 a month for life!!

These will come on April 3rd, 1967 which is not far away.

The other big Internal Rev. Service check will be for between $150,000 and $200,000 — tax free — which is equivalent to inheriting a million and a half dollars on which one would have to pay income tax. I want to travel back and forth to the loop till April 3rd. I can do this on 50 cents a day — or $12.00. I'll send you a check as soon as the 3rd comes. If you can loan me the $12.00. If not, I'll understand.

Sincerely, Chandler

Jan. 3, 1967

Dear Boy: Please send me a copy of your 10 year Freedom Program now before Congress. The whole thing is $185 billion and will be the first adequately financed Negro program.

Our Chicago papers gave the whole program plenty of space & were generally favorable to it.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely,

Boy

Chandler

March 21, 1967

Mr. Chandler Owen
6400 S. Cottage Grove Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Boy:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 10. I am enclosing check you requested. Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Encl. ($25)

Copy

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
REGIONAL OFFICE
2030 WEST TAYLOR STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60612

April 17, 1967

YOUR FILE REFERENCE:

IN REPLY REFER TO:
3028(214A)
C 23 219 417

Mr. ~~Owen~~ Chandler OWEN
6400 South Cottage Grove Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Mr. Chandler:

It has been determined that your condition meets the requirements for disability pension effective January 10, 1967. Payments will be delayed, however, because your recent letter indicated that you were expecting an award of Social Security. Please tell us on the enclosed Form 21-4138, whether payments have commenced and, if so, the monthly rate, amount of initial check, and the date of receipt. If you have not received a check, but have received a notice of an award, what is the monthly rate and effective date shown on the award letter?

Your prompt reply will be greatly appreciated because payment cannot be authorized until we receive your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Rosenthal
MORRIS ROSENTHAL
Adjudication Officer

Enclosure: (1)

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.

Show veteran's full name and VA file number on all correspondence. If VA number is unknown, show service number.

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

C/o W. R. Davis
4934 S. Michigan Av.
Chicago, Illinois

May 4, 1967

Dear Boy: Yesterday the Veterans Administration voted to give me a pension and also to give me $864.40 on May 17th. Also today the Internal Revenue Service reported that I would soon be getting the big money about which I spoke to you earlier.

My hotel locked me out today so I will need $23 for next week. I'll remit when the VA sends my check.

Sincerely,
Boy
Chandler Owen
4934 S. Michigan
C/o W. R. Davis
3rd floor

These pensions are for all time and I did not know it till I was tipped off. I could have had $60,000 for my 120 days in World War I. But these are crazy Negroes — and all jealous.

May 6, 1967

Dear Boy: If you have or have not got my letter, follow this one rigidly. Address me at 4934 South Michigan Ave, Chicago, Ill. Care of W. R. Chavez — 3rd Apt. He owns the apt. bldg and Arch Cory has one of the 3 apartments.

The Veterans Administration will pay me on May 17, 1967 — the rather excellent amount of 864.40, plus 75.00 and 68.70 — total $1008.10.

Then after 30 days the $75 and $68.70 are perpetuated for life, along with the new rent supplement which will be $105.

Like everything else, all things come at once. The big money deal will keep me from needing a penny forever, but these govt matters are slowed down, but once they start, they are good forever — never more, never lesser — and Johnson will be increasing me by two other pension increases — one for a hundred dollars yearly and one for $31.30. Congress voted the veterans' increase by 357 to 0 week before last. This latter goes in effect by July 1, 1967. Hope your health is good, and this will be the last call on you.

(over)

I would send you the letter of awards to me and I was sorry to call on you again. So soon as the govt money comes, I'll send the letters for you to see.

Good forever. And I see in the mail a letter from Romney asking about public relations.

Sincerely, "Boy"
Chandler Owen
4934 South Michigan Ave.
Chicago, Ill.
c/o Chavis

Telephone Drexel 3-6815

I'll send you a check the first day the Govt Check comes in. Then we'll get together soon. I expect to come that way as soon as it comes. Watkins called me the other night.

Write air mail special.

My Govt numbers are C4-170-485
23-219-417 and 342-18-2524

Friday, May 12, 1967
Southway Hotel
6012 South Parkway
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Boy, Here is a communication which speaks for itself. Any day now it will be in effect. Then I'll get over $1100 at the start, along with checks for $75, $100 and another $105 rent supplement — all except the last being for the rest of my life and the last up to $3500 income.

Meantime, isn't there something I can do for the labor unions for a month or two? The minute this Veterans award goes into effect, I'll be in the clear forever!

Wasn't that accident awful for Philippa?

Hastily but sincerely,

Chandler

These hotels charge me $5.15 a day!

Kreisky file

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000
6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

May 18, 1967

Dear Boy: I am situated here alright getting free rent and plenty good food. I still have two good gifts coming, but I won't have to bother you or anyone else any more.

So soon as my Veterans check comes in I'll remember you with pleasure, That should be any day.

Always your steadfast friend,

Chandler

I pay $5.15 a day here but it comes from Govt Veterans compensation. This is for life!!

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000
6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

May 15, 1967

Dear Boy: Thanks a million!
The Veterans Administration says
they expect to clear up my situation
sometime next week. How happy I'll
be. But I'll never forget the way
you stood by me in the pinch. I have to
pay $5.15 a night just to sleep.

Hastily but sincerely,

Chandler

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000
6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

June 3, 1967

Dear Boy: This is the first time in 8 yrs that my govt check has not arrived promptly on the 3rd of the month. It may come Monday but I have got to work the few days delay & I'll need carfare and food. My rent is paid for a week. I think in combining a new check they got tied up since there are 95½ million people getting govt checks.

This enclosure partly explains. The two checks will be $1275 and $860.40. And the U.S. is good for it as the

SOUTHWAY
HOTEL

Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000

6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

best creditor in the world.

I'd appreciate it if you could wire $20 and I'll put it in the mail on special delivery the time my check gets here.

6012 South Park Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60637
Aug. 6, 1967

Dear Boy:

How is your health?
I don't want anything except a truthful answer on your health.

Do you have pain? If so, where? And how long have you had it? Does your heart trouble you? Both Claude Barrett and Tyree have had heart hemorrhages this week.

Write me at once and don't hold back anything.

RECEIVED
AUG 8 - 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Always your steadfast friend,

Boy

Which do you have the worst? And hurry.
Will you be there after the 17th?

1 Kuddy file

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000
6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

June 10, 1967

Dear Boy: I don't know how to thank you for the prompt response. It was a life saver and good luck because I got another 3 days later, and I'm sure I'll not trouble you again.

The big matter is in process and I was called down to go over it 4 days ago. When it is consummated, we'll take a trip, if you can get off.

I see a headline on my paper — Randolph Rallies Negroes Support to Israel's Cause. My N. Y. Times yesterday also called ~~attention~~ to the fact that ~~Jews~~ of Chicago, New York

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000
6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

and twelve cities had given nearly 50 million dollars to Israel this week.

I think we can get from $500,000 to a million for the A. Philip Randolph Institute. Follow me. All the group of needle trades and Jews will respond at once. I see the first man to give 1 million was Annenberg from Chicago. He now owns the Phila Ledger.

Also 10 days ago Pearl Buck announced that she is going to give away, chiefly to minority groups – seven million dollars. A few years back she had me to dinner with Judge Rivers and her husband and her secretary has just written me to write Miss Buck at her Pa ~~estate~~. She's in Vietnam but will return in two more weeks.

I don't know whether you know it or not — but I was advisor on Negro-Jewish affairs the entire period of the Second World War — and the Anti-Defamation League paid me ~~thousands~~ of dollars. In ~~the~~ 100th issue of the National Jewish Monthly I had the only outside article entitled "Negro Anti Semitism — Cause and Cure".

So I can approach both the Jewish

SOUTHWAY HOTEL
Telephone BUtterfield 8-5000

6012 South Park Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

groups and Pearl Buck who is a Jewess but they don't mention it. She's most fair on the Negro, so I know we can get a good response both from the Israelites and Miss Buck — never forgetting the big Jewish labor unions.

Enough for this. How is your health!

Always your steadfast friend,

Boy

[illegible] file
Personal

6012 S. Park Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60635

Telephone Butterfield 8000
Oct. 17, 1967

Dear Boy: Our long friendship for the newer world is nearing its close. There is no criticism of you or me but conditions. For 3 weeks I've been in ~~pain~~. If you were not living I would commit suicide today. I have only physical hurt — no psychological complaint and no economic quarrel. And all this after 40 years with never a physical pain.

Now don't be unduly upset as I can and will hold out for a week or ten days. But you should know the situation is serious.

Our relationship through the years was great. How on earth can I go on?

You keep on as usual (and for years I hope)

(over)

adored and respected you, I only hope I can go on to the close.

Faithfully and sincerely,

Chandler

Chandler Owen
6012 SOUTH PARK AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
CONSULTANT 288-5000

Sunday Sept 25/67

Dear Boy:- It has been 3 months since I've had a line from you. And I would not be writing now except for the fact that I've got what I've not had in 40 years — a bad pain in the kidneys. To add to it, when I sent for Claude Forney, he was in the hospital with diabetes!!

Tilden is dead and his chief assistant is in MOKELUMNE Hill, California. A book from him just came thru so maybe things will change soon. Within the next 2 weeks I'll be on my way in the conference. Everything will probably come at once, but I need $35. If I knew where you would be I'd send this letter stormy.

(over)

how nearly I am to completion of my business and how large it is — near $200,000. When it does consummate, we'll get your work completed and go for an examination to Calif. and Denver.

How do you feel?

When you go West, don't go out walking where the bears are. They are eating people up.

You got good write up in Time last week.

Sincerely,

Boy

Chandler Owen
6012 S. Park Ave.
Chicago Ill. 60637
Room 415

Bu 8-5000

Hiatt file

Chandler Owen
6012 SOUTH PARK AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
CONSULTANT 288-5000

Sunday, Oct 8, 1967

Dear Boy:

Thanks a million. Before long I'll get the shoe on the other foot. What was your trouble? My trouble has been a stomach upset.

Walgreen has a guaranteed remedy. Has sold 5½ million of it at $ 5.50 each. I was better yesterday than ever.

Give me Domingo's address!!

This week I have an engagement with Gov. Stratton and 2 men from a Swiss Bank and an English investment concern with $ 200 million to go for fighting Negro slums. Take care.

Sincerely, Chandler

PROGRAM

Mass Meeting - Adam C. Powell - April 9, 1967
A. Philip Randolph - Chairman

Invocation	Rev. David Licorish
Singing	Dr. Dudson

Hon. Hulan Jack

Hon. Percy Sutton - President, Borough of Manhattan

Hon. Basil Patterson - Senator

Hon. Ivan Warner - Senator

Rev. McMurray - Mother Zion Church

Dr. Benjamin F. Peyton - National Council of Churches of Christ in America - Dept. of Social Justice

Dr. Ann Arnold Hedgeman - Vice President Harlem NAACP

Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Jr. - Mt. Olivet Baptist Church

Floyd McKissick - ~~Secretary-Treasurer District 65~~ President CORE

Cleveland Robinson - Secretary-Treasurer District 65

Hon. Mark Southall

James Lawson - United African Improvement Ass'n.

Hon Chas. Rangel

Hon. Jackie Robinson

Hon. Hope Stevens

Hon. Jose Ramos Lopez

Hon. David Deakens

Father James Roberts

Jesse Gray,- Tenants League

Benjamin Johannes

Chas 37X - Kenyella

L. Joseph Overton, Campaign Manager
Adam Clayton Powell Reelection
to Congress

Arnold Johnson - Small Bussimen
Mrs. Lillian Upshaw
Hon. William Booth - Chairman
Dr. Ivan Moore

Program
Chairman A. Philip Randolph

Invocation –
Rev. David Licorish
A. Hudson [illegible] Singing
Hon Hulan Jack
Hon Percy Sutton Pres. Borough of Manhattan
Hon Basil Patterson Senator
Hon Ivan Warner Senator
Mother [illegible] Rev. McMurray

Dr. Benjamin F. Payton National Council of Churches of Christ in America Dept. of Social Justice

Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman Vice-Pres. Harlem NAACP

Rev. ~~Whitfield~~
Rev. A. Clay Maxwell, Jr.

Floyd McKissick, Pres. CORE

Cleveland Robinson Secy-Treas District 65

Hon Mark Southall
Hon Chas Rangel
Hon Gerrie Robinson
Hon Hope Stevens
Hon Jose Ramos Lopez
Hon David Dinkins
Father James Roberts
Benjamin Johnes

James Lawson, United African Improvement Ass'n.

Jesse Gray, Tenants League

Chas 37X Kenyatta

L. Joseph Overton Campaign Manager Adam Clayton Powell Reelection to Congress

Arnold P. Johnson – Small Business [illegible]
Mrs. Lillian Upshure
Hon William Booth Chairman
Dr. [illegible] Moore

Powell Expulsion Was A 'Mockery,' Randolph Says

Adam Clayton Powell's expulsion from Congress was a "farce, a mockery of democracy," labor leader A. Phillip Randolph charged here Saturday night.

The AFL-CIO vice president, told the Halifax Area Council on Human Relations, "Congress can't substitute its judgment (for that of Powell's constituents)." He added the Harlem representative had met all constitutional requirements for a congressional seat — age, inhabitancy and citizenship.

Although Randolph noted that he doesn't approve of Powell's actions, he disputed the legality of Congress' action, and reminded the audience at the Daytona Plaza that he is president of a committee to support Powell.

Social Reforms Coming

"He will be reelected," Randolph predicted, adding he believed Powell's punishment would be reversed.

The labor leader hit Congress in response to a question from the audience which earlier heard him pinpoint the South as the site of far-reaching social reforms in the next phase of the civil rights revolution.

The revolution is now "in a state of relaxation," he said, but it will revive-not as a civil rights but as a social movement.

"Negroes can't attain this themselves," Randolph said. "They will need the support of liberal, labor and religious forces to complete the move."

According to Randolph, the South will be the birthplace of the next phase because "we do not have a democratic society." But he added the civil rights movement is effecting changes in backward Southern institutions.

The next phase will center around the need for jobs, equal housing and integrated education, Randolph noted.

VanDeerlin Outburst

[4479]

On January 8, we wrote an editorial commending our congressman, Lionel Van Deerlin, for his drive to unseat Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. We said at the time that we thought it reprehensible to have in Congress a man who cannot even return to his home district without going to jail.

At the same time, we urged that white Americans try to understand the attitude of Negroes about this case — an attitude, we said, that "is deeply rooted in white America's failure to provide equal justice to all Americans."

REP. VAN DEERLIN sent us a telegram warmly thanking us for the editorial. But if his recent actions are any indication, he apparently read only those paragraphs in the editorial that praised him.

Not only has he failed to understand the attitude of his Negro constituency in this case, but his behavior has aggravated these attitudes, and now he has stooped to trying to get the job of a Negro anti-poverty worker, Harold Brown, because Mr. Brown tried to criticize him about the Powell case at a public meeting.

Negroes represent about 11% of Mr. Van Deerlin's constituency, and provided the margin that first enabled him to get elected to Congress. This does not mean he should owe Negroes —or anyone else, for that matter—his vote on a public matter, nor that he should be deterred by this from exercising his own best judgment.

But he does owe Negroes, or any other constituent, the courtesy of discussion and explanation on any matter of concern to them.

Rep. Van Deerlin has not done this. He never discussed the Powell case with his Negro constituents before he raised the issue. Since making this a national cause celebre, and despite repeated trips to San Diego, he has failed to meet even once with the Negro leadership on the Powell case. His only meeting, on the subject, a highly secret affair, was with a handful of Negro ministers, after which he announced that the Negro community supported him. Interestingly, last week the Southeast (Negro) Ministerial Assn. issued a statement deploring his actions.

NOW we are convinced that Mr. Van Deerlin's actions against Mr. Powell were not racially motivated. However, it is obvious that a not-inconsiderable part of his support has racial undertones.

But, while Mr. Van Deerlin was taking national bows on this issue, never once did he issue a statement firmly disavowing racist support. Never did he use his newly found national platform as an opportunity to speak out against racism, to point out that the very opposition he has had from Negroes on what should be a clear-cut issue of governmental integrity is sad testimony to the failure of the white majority to erase the blot of bigotry and prejudice from America.

No wonder his Negro constituents felt alienated and betrayed by the man they had supported steadfastly through three elections. No wonder this resentment finally boiled over last week at a Community Action Council meeting attended by Mr. Van Deerlin.

The details on what actually transpired are unclear. Mr. Brown says that he and several others attempted to speak to their congressman on the Powell issue and, when denied the opportunity, they merely left the hall, followed by two-thirds of the audience. Mr. Van Deerlin says they tried to incite a riot.

In any event, he left under police guard, although whether this was necessary because of the facts of the case or his own groundless fears is hard to determine.

WE DO NOT condone the behavior of participants in this affair; interrupting public meetings is discourteous and deplorable. But a United States Congressman should be able to rise above this.

Instead, Mr. Van Deerlin began running off at the mouth—particularly against Mr. Brown, the director of an anti-poverty neighborhood leadership program. Because of the ruckus, Mr. Van Deerlin claimed the anti-poverty program was "underwriting a course in riot and insurrection." In a letter to Sergeant Shriver, he demanded Mr. Brown be fired under the Hatch Act.

Now Mr. Brown was there as an individual, not a government employe. From reports, he was only one of numerous protestors, and hardly a ringleader. There is also a question whether the Hatch Act, which forbids partisan political activity, also forbids the right to express one's opinion, however mistaken.

But the issue here really isn't legal—it is whether a congressman should behave like a child and further alienate a sensitive constituency over an incident for which his own behavior was largely responsible.

We can understand Mr. Van Deerlin's own sensitivity on the Powell issue, which reportedly has cost him considerable influence in Washington, where many congressmen feel he has placed them in an embarrassing position on a delicate matter.

But salving his own wounds by trying to get a critic's job was cheap, petty and vindictive. It hardly becomes a congressman from whom we've come to expect more meaningful action.

Re Powell
[illegible] —
[illegible]

Let me know what kind of help
You can give us.

UNITED COMMUNITY DEMOCRATIC CLUB

A.R. REED PRESIDENT	ART AKERS 2nd VICE PRES.
LEON WILLIAMS 1st VICE PRES.	LEROY JACKSON TREASURER
MARGARET MAYES SECRETARY	MILDRED FIELDS FIN. SEC.

Dear Neighbor, Member, and Fellow Democrat:

Sorry to say it but you have just missed another BARN BURNER!! At our last meeting we played host to a number of new Democrats and accepted a bunch of new members.

Three major "MOTIONS" were submitted from the floor. Two of them passed and the third was "Tabled." Fellow members pointed out that this motion could and would be taken from the table if the membership thought it necessary to do so. Two letters, resulting from the three motions, will be submitted to the general membership for approval at our next meeting.

Our President relinquished the "CHAIR" to the 2nd Vice President in order that he might go to the floor and speak on one of the motions. Every member and guest were given the opportunity to say their piece and all in all we had a tremendous meeting and all those present enjoyed themselves.

A special committee was formed to meet with the County Central Committee and place a club motion before that body. Details of this action will be made public during the next meeting.

You are urged to attend that next meeting. BRING A FRIEND. The PLACE is 2835 Imperial Avenue and the time is 5:00 P.M. SHARP.

Mrs. Flora Hunt reports that the club sponsored trip to Las Vegas on March 31, promises to be a big success....Sunday is the last day you can make sure you have a reservation to go along with this group on a "week-end of fun."

The 2nd Vice President will give greater details on the "Radio School" which is being set up in the Encanto area. Mr. Akers would like to set up similar schools in other areas of Southeast San Diego. The Club is backing him 100% but WE NEED YOUR HELP. You can help by attending our meetings regularly and serving on one of our special committees....Remember March 26th at 5:00 P.M. SHARP.......SEE YOU AT 2835 IMPERIAL AVENUE.. BE SURE AND COME.....BRING A FRIEND....

A.R. "Adolphus" REED
President, UCD Club

HOME PHONE
CO 2-7187

2540 BLACKTON DRIVE
SAN DIEGO 5, CALIF.

A. R. (ADOLPHUS) REED
DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1

13403 S. Kedzie Ave.
Blue Island, Illinois
November 17, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph,

I am writing to express my appreciation to you for being a true friend to Chandler in death, as in life. Your coming to see him at the hospital, and again to attend his funeral let me know the depth of the friendship that existed between you and Chandler. I also appreciated your kind remarks. To be a true friend is an admirable quality.

Prior to his illness, I hadn't seen Chandler for about ten years. He kept himself aloof from me. Our correspondence was mostly thru exchange of Christmas cards. I telephoned him occasionally whenever I knew where he was living.

When Chandler became ill one of his friends whom I had met several years ago, found my telephone number and informed me of his illness. The hotel desk Clerk also telephoned me, and upon learning of his whereabouts, I immediately telephoned him and encouraged him to go to the hospital. I also asked my mother's brother, who knew Chandler, to go to see about him. After my uncle, Mr. Shelton, left the hotel, Chandler called a friend of his to take him to the hospital. I went to see him the next day, and upon noting the seriousness of his condition, I felt that I should contact you. From the friend that 'phoned me telling me of Chandler's illness, I had learned of his friendship with you, and was advised that I could probably contact you thru Mr. Shackleford.

By not having divulged

his personal business to me, I knew nothing of Chandler's affairs. I therefore sent you the telegram, because after learning of the closeness of your friendship, I felt that you would be able to supply the answer to my question.

Again let me thank you for everything!

My son, William, joins me in wishing you God's blessings.

Sincerely Yours,

Elaine Owen Ratliff

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

February 27, 1967

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping
  Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Phil:

In your capacity as Co-Chairman of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry and as a Vice Chairman of the Crusade, I want to thank you personally for your role in helping to evaluate and then support the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

The decision of the Office of Economic Opportunity to refund CDGM was a significant victory for the poor people of Mississippi.

The national coalition which supported CDGM played a unique and crucial part in bringing about a just resolution of this matter. Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Walter

Walter P. Reuther

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 11, 1967

Mr. Walter P. Reuther, Chairman
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Walter:

Glad to know of your success in getting the Office of Economic Opportunity to refund CDGM for the poor people of Mississippi. A job well done.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

APR:mr

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION
REGIONAL OFFICE
2030 WEST TAYLOR STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60612

April 17, 1967

YOUR FILE REFERENCE:

IN REPLY REFER TO:
3028(214A)
C 23 219 417

Mr. ~~Owen~~ Chandler OWEN
6400 South Cottage Grove Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Mr. Chandler:

It has been determined that your condition meets the requirements for disability pension effective January 10, 1967. Payments will be delayed, however, because your recent letter indicated that you were expecting an award of Social Security. Please tell us on the enclosed Form 21-4138, whether payments have commenced and, if so, the monthly rate, amount of initial check, and the date of receipt. If you have not received a check, but have received a notice of an award, what is the monthly rate and effective date shown on the award letter?

Your prompt reply will be greatly appreciated because payment cannot be authorized until we receive your reply.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Rosenthal
MORRIS ROSENTHAL
Adjudication Officer

Enclosure: (1)

They pay 12 months in advance – and after the first 30 days, start paying the monthly award – and pay it for life, increased occasionally by Congress.

C O

Include Zip Code in your return address and give veteran's social security number.
Show veteran's full name and VA file number on all correspondence. If VA number is unknown, show service number.

/ Central file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 13, 1967

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for your recent message expressing concern over events in the Middle East.

The necessary first steps for peace have been taken, and, as the President has said, we will continue to work for peace and progress for all the peoples of the Middle East.

We appreciate your taking the time to give us your thoughts. Your counsel is always welcome.

Sincerely yours,

W W Rostow
W. W. Rostow

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Telefax **WESTERN UNION** Telefax
SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS FCL	PD	CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

May 10, 1967

Mr and Mrs George Schuyler
270 Convent Avenue
New York, NY

Dear Friends:

I wish to extend my heartfelt condolences upon your great loss of your gifted and lovely daughter, Philippa. I was grieved and shocked to learn of it.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R 4-55)

We shall always remember
with deep gratitude your comforting
expression of sympathy

George and Josephine Schuyler

Dear Mr. Randolph - We would like you to come so much! Have your Secretary Call us at WA. 6-3971 for tickets as our guest. Sincerely Josephine

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Presents

A memorial concert in honor of the brave young American, Philippa Schuyler, who lost her life in Danang, South Vietnam, on May 9, 1967, in a helicopter crash while on a mercy mission as she was transporting eight Vietnamese school children from Hue, a danger zone, after having already successfully removed seventy children and their teachers from the same area. Only Philippa and the child on her lap were lost.

Participating Artists:

LEONARD DE PAUR, *Conductor*
CAMILLA WILLIAMS, *Soprano*
ARMENTA ADAMS, *Pianist*
and
AN ORCHESTRA OF 36 SYMPHONY MUSICIANS

TOWN HALL, NEW YORK

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 24TH AT 2:30 P.M.

Master of Ceremonies

JOHN YOUNG III

Notes about the Artists

Leonard de Paur has been famous since the debut of his Infantry Chorus following World War II. With it Mr. de Paur has made as many as 190 concert performances on a single tour. The Infantry Chorus was suceeded by the Opera Gala, the Gala, and the present de Paur Chorus, a male ensemble of 28 voices.

Mr. de Paur, a pupil of the French master, Pierre Monteux, has become well known for his recordings and his TV appearances. He has received an "Emmy" nomination and appeared on the Bell Telephone Hour.

Camilla Williams has won fame both in recital appearances and in opera. She is perhaps best known for the role of Madame Butterfly at City Center, New York, and later in the capitals of Europe and Asia. She has been decorated for her services to this country.

Armenta Adams has won many music scholarships and performed three major New York recitals. She has also appeared in London, Amsterdam and other European capitals and has toured Latin America, Africa, Asia and Australia.

ALL THREE ARTISTS HAVE BEEN THE GUESTS OF THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AROUND THE WORLD TOURS.

CONCERT COMMITTEE

The Musical Art Group
Mrs. Florence Bohanan
Ganelle Brown
Mrs. Dorothy King
Miss Nora Holt
Jimmy Little
Mrs. Pauline Liggone
Mrs. Carolyn Mitchell
Mrs. Peter Marshall Murray
Captain William Spears
Mrs. Pauline Styler

PROGRAM

I.
KOMM, SUSSER TODT .... *J. S. Bach*
The Orchestra, conducted by Leonard de Paur

II.
RUMPELSTILTSKIN .... *Philippa Schuyler*
The Orchestra, conducted by Leonard de Paur

III.
SELECTIONS FROM PHILIPPA'S ALBUM

IV.
THE LAST INTERVIEW
A tape recording of Miss Schuyler being interviewed on Station WLIB just before her departure again for Asia, with Leon Lewis and Nora Holt against a background of music played by Philippa herself taken from her record of *International Favorites.*

INTERMISSION

V.
THREE SONGS .... *Philippa Schuyler*

1. *Roccoco* from Charles Swinburne
2. *Old Father William* from *Through the Looking Glass*
3. Arabian Love Song

Performed by *Camilla Williams*

VI.
THE NILE FANTASY, for Piano and Orchestra, *Philippa Schuyler*
The Orchestra conducted by Leonard de Paur
Soloist Armenta Adams

TICKETS

First two orchestra rows and box seats	$10
From Row C to L	$ 8
L through U	$ 7
Row A in the balcony	$ 6
All other balcony seats	$ 5

OBTAINABLE AT:

The Philippa Schuyler Memorial Foundation, 11 West 42nd Street.
The Musical Art Group, 200 West 90th Street, Suite 8A.
From September 10 to 24th at Town Hall Box Office.

Telephones: WA 6-3971 — LY 5-2995 — 564-4890

NOTES ON MUSIC: Philippa Schuyler wrote piano music from the age of three; at nine years of age she had had nine of her 60 pieces published. At age twelve, Philippa wrote and orchestrated a symphonic poem, *Manhattan Nocturne* which received first prize in a nationwide contest held by Wayne University in Detroit where it was first performed by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra for an audience of 7000 young people. The next season it was played by the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra at Carnegie Hall for the final festival of the Young People's Concerts conducted by Rudolph Ganz. The New York *Times* wrote that it *"had genuine charm and expert orchestration."*

At thirteen Philippa composed *Rumpelstiltskin*, a symphonic scherzo, also prize-winning, which was premiered by Dean Dixon at Hunter College on his Youth Series. Later, the New York Philharmonic performed it both at Carnegie Hall where Rudolph Ganz conducted it and at Lewisohn Stadium directed by Thor Johnson. It was also played by the Boston POPS, the New Haven Symphony and San Francisco and Chicago major orchestras. It was broadcast to Europe by the U.S. State Department in 1946; and a decade later put on record by Odeon Disc in Argentina and published in piano transcription by Ricordi Brothers in Latin America, Europe and the U.S.

At fifteen, Philippa wrote *Sleepy Hollow Sketches* for symphony orchestra which was showcased by the New York Youth Orchestra and received an award from the United Nations at a festival in Tarrytown, N.Y. in 1950.

In 1965, Miss Schuyler composed the *Nile Fantasy* for Piano and Orchestra based on themes from the Source of the Nile. She had traveled extensively in that area: Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia, Egypt. Inspired by the fact that Western Civilization began on the Nile, Philippa conceived this work on two levels: psychological and historical. In four movements she depicted the four basic moods of the Nile and its turbulent history.

1st Movement ...... The Gathering Together of the Old Kingdoms
2nd Movement ...... INSHALLAH or FATE, Serenity and Gestation
3rd Movement ...... VIOLENCE and TERROR
4th Movement ...... The Long Road to the Peace that will come

The *Nile Fantasy* was premiered in Cairo, Egypt on Dec. 10, 1965 with Miss Schuyler as soloist with the Cairo Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Dennis Gray Stoll. Antoine Gennaoui, leading music critic of Cairo, wrote in the *Journal of Egypt*: *"The work revealed daring treatment of harmony put into effect with beautiful technical facility . . . There was a leaning towards atonalism; nevertheless there were passages of transcendent beauty in contrast with unusual melodic effects."*

For its American premiere conducted by Leonard de Paur, *Le Nil*, as it came to be called in the Near East, only the 2nd, 3rd and half of the 4th Movements will be heard. Time and economy have also made it necessary to cut the orchestra down to half of the instruments originally used.

Philippa gave recitals in 80 countries and appeared with orchestras in London, Paris, Madrid, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Helsinki, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Santiago, Havana, Trujillo City, Buenos Aires, Cordoba, Honolulu, as well as in the United States. She made three records. Her last one, *International Favorites* is available at Middletone Records, 1576 Broadway. She authored five books. Her last, *GOOD MEN DIE* will be published in October by Twin Circle, 86 Riverside Drive.

The Beautiful American

It was typical of Philippa Schuyler, this newspaper's correspondent in Vietnam, that she died while performing an act of charity.

The famed concert pianist, who was known as a "soft touch" for every worthwhile charitable enterprise she discovered in her travels throughout Africa and Southeast Asia, died in a helicopter crash while on a mercy mission helping nine Vietnamese children whom she had arranged to bring from Hue to attend a school in Da Nang.

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER

It was typical of Philippa that she had only recently written her parents in New York City telling them of her determination to extend her stay in Vietnam in order to ferry homeless priests, nuns and children out of danger.

This writer well recalls how Philippa, on the occasion of her concert in Manchester in the spring of 1961, volunteered to submit to a lengthy personal interview despite the fact that she was physically exhausted — understandably so — after having played two complete concerts, one the night before at the Sisters of Mercy Convent on Union Street.

It was apparent to us that this brilliant, personable and sensitive young lady — a child prodigy at 4 and a concert pianist with the New York Philharmonic Society Orchestra at 14 — did not fall into that category of artists who consider themselves precious.

It was this same toughness of spirit that Philippa carried with her in her spectacular climb to the top of the journalistic profession. Charming, tenacious, talented, generous, Philippa told the truth about events in the Congo and in Vietnam without fear of favor — but always with compassion for the people.

Her stories were perceptive because she made a supreme effort to understand the people with whom she came in contact, to respect their customs, to convey to them the sincerity of her interest in them as people, not simply as expendable pawns in the cold war.

She pursued her stories into areas of the world where brave men feared to venture, and she shamed the lazy correspondents of some of the larger news media who seldom ventured beyond the walls of the local bar in Saigon or Elizabethville.

There is not a word of exaggeration in Mrs. Schuyler's description of her talented daughter: "A beautiful, beautiful child. Philippa was beautiful in every way, as much so within as she was on the outside. All her life she has been spending her great heart and talents on other people, and this thing she was doing in Vietnam, this mission on which she died, was completely typical."

It also was typical of Philippa — and we wish we could say this of all American correspondents abroad — that she made no attempt to conceal her love of her own country and was ever quick to defend its democratic institutions.

She was the sort of "Beautiful American" that America's critics would like to pretend does not exist.

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER
REPRINTED BY PHILLIPS SCHUYLER MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

November 16, 1967

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

As usual, your vision and leadership is timely and effective. I do appreciate your having called on all of the civil rights leaders of the Nation to join with you in a statement of support for the Anti-poverty Legislation.

The ideas stated in your public expression of commitment should prove an inspiration to the poor as well as motivation to the members of the Congress.

Thank you for your support at this time when we need it most.

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver

Sargent Shriver
Director

Kindly file

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SIGNERS OF CIVIL RIGHTS AD

IN
THE WASHINGTON POST
November 14, 1967

BISHOP GEORGE W. BABER
African Methodist Episcopal Church

REVEREND WALTER FAUNTROY
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

MARVIN CAPLAN
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

MISS DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
National Council of Negro Women

REVEREND E. FRANKLIN JACKSON
John Wesley A. M. E. Zion Church

MRS. CERNORIA JOHNSON
National Urban League - Washington Bureau

B. DOYLE MITCHELL
National Bankers Association

CLARENCE MITCHELL
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

JOHN H. MURPHY, III
National Publishers Association

ROBERTO ORNELES
League of United Latin American Citizens

REVIUS ORTIKE
National Lawyers Association

MRS. CAREY PRESTON
National Pan Hellenic Council

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters - AFL/CIO

LOUIS P. TELLEZ
American G.I. Forum - (Mexican-American Veterans)

HOBSON REYNOLDS
Benevolent Order of Elks of the World

BAYARD RUSTIN
A. Philip Randolph Institute

DR. LIONEL F. SWAN
National Medical Association

REVEREND GARDNER TAYLOR
National Progressive Baptist Convention

BISHOP W. J. WALLS
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

ROY WILKINS
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

BISHOP SMALLWOOD E. WILLIAMS
Bible Way Church

JACK E. WOOD
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

WHITNEY YOUNG
National Urban League

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BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

March 30, 1967

MEMO TO Charles Bloomstein
Robert Gilmore
Edward Gray
Michael Harrington
Irving Howe
Allard Lowenstein
David McReynolds
A. Philip Randolph
Bayard Rustin

I have been under some pressure to hold an informal sort of conference to set up a plan for getting the maximum possible cooperation of peace forces in facing the elections in 1968, and I wanted advice from all of you before I take any further action. We ought to have our opinions well in hand before the Mobilization on April 15, and I find that I shall be away on a speaking trip for most of the next two weeks. Could you please come to my office on Monday, April 3, at 4:00 p.m., to consult about this matter? I am asking only a few persons. I apologise for the short notice, and earnestly hope that if you can't come you will telephone or write me your opinion on this matter.

I think that we opponents of the war in Vietnam can drift into a lot of trouble if there is not early agreement upon some competent and appealing person who could be a peace candidate if necessary (and it almost certainly will be necessary) in 1968. In American politics, any movement of consequence requires such a central figure. We don't want to be faced with a sudden effort to nominate a candidate at the last minute, nor do we want to feel pre-empted by a candidate possibly more devoted to hate of the American establishment, and love for the Vietcong, than to an effective drive for peace.

I am inclined to think that the best available man would be Martin Luther King who, in his own person, would unite a concern for peace with a concern for civil rights, and an effective war on poverty. If he would consent to run, he would have to give considerable time to it, beginning almost immediately. I suggest that he be nominated with the idea of his withdrawing if, by some miracle, one of the majority parties would nominate a candidate who came out clearly for peace. I don't think that we can trust to the difference between, let us say, Johnson and Romney. Fulbright is almost certainly not available, and Bobby Kennedy, I think, will stick to his resolution not to run in 1968. Five or ten million votes for a third party candidate would have a powerful effect on the winner of the election, and it is not unreasonable to think that we might, through a big effort, get that many, or more, votes in an election.

Again, supposing that we can get a candidate for peace from one of the major parties, our man can always withdraw or campaign really to support the peace candidate--much as, in 1936, Earl Browder, the Communist Party candidate, worked for Roosevelt.

The primary questions are: Is this generally speaking, a good idea? How could a coalition be set up and kept together assuming that King, or, if not King, some other good man, would accept the nomination? How could we fit it in with the kind of campaign we ought to wage in the congressional districts--where we first ought to make an effort to have our men nominated in Democratic or Republican primaries.

By no means am I nominating myself for leadership in this sort of campaign; I lack the physical capacity, but I am acting to consult you as to what can be done in this field. I represent nobody but myself, although I know that many Socialist Party officers are interested along some such line as this. I'll be exceedingly grateful if you will write or telephone me in case you can't come on Monday. I'll report your views to this very small and informal conference.

Norman Thomas

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MAR 3
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Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-8970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

September 19, 1967

Professor Robert Constantine
Department of History
Indiana State University
Terre Haute, Indiana

Dear Bob:

Your dinner on Saturday night, September 23, is in honor of two men whom I love, Eugene V. Debs and A. Philip Randolph, both of whom rendered unique service to their country and to mankind. I am sorry that my physical handicaps in travelling make it too difficult to join you in the festivities. You know how I rejoice in the existence of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, and in the use you have made of his old home.

Phil Randolph has been a friend of mine for more years than I can remember, and I could tell many stories about the services he has rendered. Once, we were together in Japan, and our Japanese friends took many pictures. They rushed in the fdlowing morning pointing to your guest of honor crying "Daibutz! Daibutz!" (I'm not sure of my spelling). They meant that Phil resembled the famous statue of the great Buddha--but I prefer Phil's line of action to that of the great Buddha.

I am also pleased to remember that I was once part of an informal committee which urged Phil to let us nominate him to run for President of the United States on the Socialist ticket. Unfortunately, he had to decline. I don't think that he would have won if he had run--I didn't--but he would have made a great campaign, as he has always done for so many good causes.

My best to you all,

Fraternally yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:ts

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SEP 20 1967
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November 1, 1967

Mr. Norman Thomas
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York 10003

Dear Norman:

Just a word of remembrance and congratulations upon your profound and touching statement to a group of students about our contemporary times and the challenge facing modern youth.

I certainly hope that you are feeling well because your comments rang not only with your great philosophic insight but also vitality.

Let me say that I have had the pleasure of receiving the Eugene V. Debs Award at Terre Haute and enjoyed the occasion immensely. Just as Debs was the conscience of America of his time, so you are the conscience of America of your time.

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you and having a chat in the not distant future. Of course, I am not over burdened with vigor myself, but I will make it my business to make a call on you.

With cordial good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

November 3, 1967

A. Philip Randolph
217 W. 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Phil:

That is a lovely letter you sent me. I was sorry not to be in Terre Haute. I sent them a letter about you which I hope they read. I am now planning to see you at the meeting of the board of the A. Philip Randolph Institute next Tuesday.

As ever, yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:S

HBP001 PD BROTHERHOOD SCP NEW YORK FEB 2 67

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXRMAN

ANDREW R TYLER, CHAIRMAN
HARYOU-ACT
2092 SEVENTH AVE
NYK

I AM DELIGHTED AND HAPPY TO EXPRESS MY COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER IN HONOR OF OUR GOOD FRIEND ADXXXX AND CO-WORKER, LIVINGSTON WINGATE. BROTHER WINGATE IS A GREAT FREEDOM FIGHTER AND CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST WITH PROFOUND COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, FREEDOM, SOCIAL AND RACIAL JUSTICE FOR NEGROES IN PARTICULAR, AND ALL MEN IN GENERAL. I CONGRATULATE THE FRIENDS WHO HAVE SEEN THE WISDOM IN GIVING THIS TESTIMONIAL FOR FRIEND AND BROTHER, LIVINGSTON WINGATE.

-A PHILIP RANDOLPH
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

HARRY H. WACHTEL
598 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

May 5, 1967

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Martin asked me to send you an autographed copy of the speeches and statements made by Martin and and other distinguished Americans on the subject of the war in Vietnam. This publication should make clear what Martin has said as opposed to what others say he said.

He would welcome your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Harry H. Wachtel

Enclosure

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MAY 9 1967
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May 11, 1967

Mr. Harry H. Wachtel
598 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Wachtel:

Thank you for your letter of May 5 enclosing copy of Dr. Martin Luther King's speeches on the subject of the war in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 15, 1967

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
International President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

You should have received by now an invitation from the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs to participate in the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs to be held in El Paso, Texas, October 26th through October 28th.

As you know, the President established the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs on June 9, 1967, at which time he said:

> "The purpose of this committee is to
> -- assure that Federal programs are reaching the Mexican Americans and providing the assistance they need and
> -- seek out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems that are unique to the Mexican American community"

On September 12th, the President announced the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs and said that at these hearings he wanted discussed solutions to the problems of the Mexican Americans. This we are going to do by bringing together at these hearings a cross section of our society -- Mexican Americans and other American citizens from all walks of life.

Enclosed you will find a selection card for you to indicate the hearing in which you would like to participate. In order to have a good representation at each of the hearings, we have asked that you indicate a first and second choice. These cards are to be returned in the enclosed self-addressed envelopes immediately so that assignments can be made.

As you know, the Government does not provide transportation or lodging during the hearings. However, to assure accommodations for all participants, we have had sufficient hotel rooms set aside. Enclosed is a request for the type of hotel accommodations you desire and a self-addressed envelope directly to our headquarters office in El Paso. Reservations are being held in seven hotels and assignments for accommodations will be made as they are received. We urge that you return your reservation card immediately and confirmation will be sent to you.

I look forward to seeing you at the hearings.

Sincerely,

Vicente T. Ximenes

Vicente T. Ximenes
Chairman
Inter-Agency Committee on
Mexican American Affairs

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OCT 17 1967
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 17, 1967

Mr. Vicente T. Ximenes
Chairman, Inter-Agency Committee
on Mexican American Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ximenes:

Thank you for your letter of October 15 concerning the invitation from the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs to participate in the Cabinet Committee Hearings on Mexican American Affairs in El Paso, October 26-28.

May I say that I feel greatly honored to have been invited to share in this important event, but regret that I am unable to do so because of health reasons.

However, I would like to suggest Mr. C. L. Dellums, International Vice President and Chairman of the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, to serve in my stead. Mr. Dellums is a former chairman of the Fair Employment Practice Commission in California and he is knowledgeable about the question at hand. His address is 1716-18 Seventh Street, Oakland, California 94607.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

ASA PHILIP. RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE C-W 1968

December 8, 1968

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am preparing a manuscript for publication, a biography of my father the late Robert R. Church Jr. of Memphis, Tennessee, and am including material about him from various sources.

My father kept several scrap-books containing clippings from newspapers and magazines about his activities, among them the Champion Magazine. I should like to use excerpts from these clippings from the Champion Magazine giving full credit to the magazine and list it as a source of information, and would appreciate your giving me permission to do this.

Also, I wonder if you could give me some information about two Negro newspapers that were published in New York some years ago and are now defunct, the New York Age and the New York News. I recall my father saying that the New York Age was owned by a man named Mr. Fred Moore, then later I believe he said a Mr. Ludlow Werner owned the newspaper. I would like to know who owned the New York Age and the New York News at the time these newspapers went out of business and the address of this person as I would like to write to whomever it is.

Mr. Roy Wilkins had given me permission to use material from the Crisis and I should appreciate your cooperation also.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta Church

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D.C. 20009

ROBERT R. CHURCH
June 18, 1839 August 29, 1912
Pioneer Businessman
First Citizen to Buy Bond To Restore City Charter After
Yellow Fever Epidemic 1878-79
Bought Bond Number One For One Thousand Dollars
His Life Is Woven Into The History Of Memphis

"...The triumph of Memphis as a great city could not be written without an account of the marvelous career of the late R. R. Church, who built a fame on character and left two fortunes, one a great estate as men appraise wealth, and the other/a heritage for his children and for all the people..He saw his town grow from a boasting village to a city of renown, and he was part of the bravery of those who grappled with such problems as few builders have been compelled to overcome..He pointed the way to float Bonds for his stricken city..as he paid down the purchase money of No. 1.."

Memphis Commercial Appeal Dec. 30, 1913

ROBERT R. CHURCH JR.
OCT. 26, 1885 April 17, 1952
Native Son Of Memphis
Militant Republican In Local, State and National Politics
He Paid His Way, Spoke His Convictions And Was Respected
"A Good Name Is Rather To Be Chosen Than Great Riches"

"...No federal appointment is made in Memphis and Shelby County under a Republican administration without his endorsement..He is high in the councils of his party.. Church is modest and unassuming..His work is done in his Beale Street office in Memphis and in the White House in Washington..His influence in the Republican Party is more extensive in the south than any man white or black..If the Republican party continues in control, Church will continue to be head of the party in Tennnessee."

Memphis Commercial Appeal Oct. 6,1928

December 14, 1968

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
217 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

My name has been submitted for an appointment with the Nixon administration, and I am getting in touch with a few of my father's friends and asking if they would be kind enough to recommend me for such a position. You very kindly recommended me for an appointment with the Eisenhower administration which is why I presume to write you this letter. I have the endorsement of Senator Howard Baker, Republican of Tennessee, my home State.

Since you were a friend of my Dad's and he was a member of the National Board of Directors of the Committee for FEPC legislation, and you know of his activities in behalf of FEPC, if it would not place you in an awkward position, I should be most appreciative if you would write to Mr. Harry Flemming in my behalf. Mr. Flemming's address is Office of the President-elect, Federal Office Building, Washington, D.C. Please mark Mr. Flemming's letter Personal.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing a summary of my qualifications. In addition, I was elected to the Republican State Executive Committee of Tennessee being the first Colored woman ever elected to that body, and you very kindly requested the Memphis Branch of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to help me in that effort which contributedsubstantially to my success.

If recommending me would cause you to be placed in an awkward position, and you would prefer not to do this, do not hesitate to let me know, and I will understand perfectly.

I should like to extend to you Greetings of the Season.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N.W. Apt. 200
Washington, D.C. 20009

Enclosure (1)

Name: Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D.C. 20009

Voting Residence: Memphis, Tennessee
Elective Office: Elected member
Republican State Executive Committee
of Tennessee from Memphis
(9th Congressional District)
in August 1952

Education:
B.A. and M. A. degrees received from Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
Additional Graduate Work completed at Northwestern and the University of Chicago

Employment Experience U. S. Government:
August 1953- March 1961- U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.
Appointed by Eisenhower Administration to U.S. Department of Labor as Minority Groups Consultant

Responsible for planning and directing nationwide program designed to promote equitable employment for individuals from various racial, religious and nationality minority groups, through the Federal-State Employment Service. Evaluated program operations in 50 States, supervised staff in State offices, developed and conducted training courses to carry out provisions of anti-discriminatory legislation etc. Provided consultive services on the development of equitable employment opportunities to the Secretary of Labor, Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Employment, all Bureau's of the Labor Dept., also industrial and business firms, educational institutions and foundations, labor unions, State and City Fair Employment Practices Commissions, Human Relations Commissions etc.

Conferred with Directors of Personnel and other officials on equitable employment and toured plants of such industries as: Firestone Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio; Ford Motor Co. Detroit; North American Aviation, Los Angeles, California; International Harvester Co. Memphis, also light industrial plants and factories in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Special Assignment With President's Committee On Government Contracts (now called Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:
Appointed by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell as liaison person between Bureau of Employment Security and President's Committee On Government Contracts chaired by Vice President Nixon. Attended all meetings of the President's Committee in Washington, D. C. as well as meetings in Chicago, Los Angeles and St, Louis where special conferences were held with local leaders and organizations to promote equitable employment.

1961 to Present: Consultant U.S. Department Health, Education and Welfare
(Civil Service Career appointment obtained by passing Civil Service Exam)
Responsible for developing nationwide Federal-State program in Rehabilitation Services Administration concerned with rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped into employment, with special emphasis on the older worker. Provide consultive services to Regional, State and local agency offices regarding development, improvement and expansion of services. Responsible for liaison between agency and other Federal, public and private agencies, Inter-Departmental Committees, Government Task Forces etc. Review program operations. Responsible for conducting Training Courses, Workshops and Seminars for staff at the following Universities: University of Michigan, University of Denver, University of Florida, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and Northeastern University, Boston.

Other Information:
Listed in Who's Who Of American Women; Listed among "Top Women Appointees of Eisenhower Administration" by Women's Division of Republican National Committee

Member Of:
Academy of Certified Social Workers of National Association of Social Workers; American Association of University Women; National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, NAACP and Urban League.

Previous Employment: Employed in welfare work with public and private social agencies in Chicago, Illinois prior to employment with U. S. Government.

January 11, 1968

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I wish to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of January 6th enclosing a copy of your letter to Mr. Harry Flemming in my behalf, which I found upon my return to Washington this week after having spent the Christmas holidays in Memphis.

I am most appreciative of your recommending me to Mr. Flemming for a position with the Nixon administration, and for the kind remarks you made about my father and me. I am sure that my father would appreciate your interest and support of me.

Thank you also for the information about the New York Age and the New York News. I plan to include in the biography of my father excerpts from correspondence he had with you, particularly the letter in which you sent him an Honorary Membership Card in the Brotherhood Of Sleeping Car Porters which he carried with him until the day he died. When the book is published sometime in the future, I shall send you a complimentary copy which I shall be pleased for you to accept.

My Aunt joins me in wishing you a happy and successful new year.

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D.C. 20009

P. S. The enclosed article on Mr. Clarence Mitchell Jr. appeared in Sunday's Washington Post's Potomac Section. Mr. Mitchell very kindly mentions my father in the article.

R.

MEMORANDUM

TO: EMMA THOMAS
RACHELLE HOROWITZ

FROM: Patt Edwards

DATE: March 1, 1968

SUBJ: Telegrams Sent

The following telegrams were sent to Richard M. Nixon of Nixon, Mudge, Rose, Guthrie, Alexander, 20 Broad St., N.Y.C. and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, 22 W. 55th St., N.Y.C.

> We strongly urge you to use your influence in getting Republic Senators to support the present Civil Rights Bill before the Congress.
>
> In light of the findings and recommendations of the President's Commission of Urban Disorders, just released, it is now more clear than ever before that vigorous and urgent Federal action is needed if our nation is not to be torn asunder racially, and if a democratic society for all Americans is to survive.
>
> We believe that congressional passage of the present Civil Rigts Bill is an integral, inescapable, and indispensable part of such federal action.
> (R-a possible candidate)
> As (N) candidate for the office of President of the United States you cannot now avoid committing the utmost of your energy and influence in behalf of a measure whose passage will play as crucial a part as all the other needed measures in keeping this nation both unified and just.
>
> A. Philip Randolph, President- Brotherhood of
> Sleeping Car Porters.
>
> Bayard Rustin, Director-Randolph Institute

The same wire with following beginning went to: City Desk, New York Times, 229 W. 43rd St., N.Y.C.,United Press International 220 E. 42nd St., N.Y.C., Associated Press, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City and City Desk, New York Post, 75 West Street, N.Y.C.

For immediate release: Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph sent the following telegrams to Richard Nixon and Nelson Rockefeller today.

CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH

2842 WASHINGTON BOULEVARD
THOMAS ELLIOTT HUNTLEY, D.D., Pastor,
4959 Cote Brilliante Avenue 63113
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63103

WILLIAM H. CLAIBORNE, Director Christian Education
MRS. FRANKIE W. ANDERSON, Church Visitor

MISS HAZEL L. HOPSON, Secretary
ELLIS S. OUTLAW, Church Clerk

May 24, 1968

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
Headquarters of Pullman Porters
817 Q Street,N. W.
Washington D. C.

My dear Mr. Randolph:

I have just returned from Washington attending the Poor People Campaign where I took ten large size Posters in the interest of the poor Railroad man, to be carried in the parade of the march. I was informed, cordially and sympathetically by the officers of S. C. L. C. that the posters could not be placed in the parade without the permission or support of the Rail Road Union. Upon this information I went immediately to the head quarters of the Brotherhood Union of your affliiation, to get such permission but found no one in the office. I made several calls by phone thereafter but no one responded to the phone calls. Therefore upon leaving the city I left them in the hands of a Mr. J. C. Lipscomb,1118 Eye Street N.E.,phone 5478-557. He stated that he would gladly submit them to your office and assist in getting them in the parade,if you agree to the movement. Thus I wish you would contact or have your office to contact him and get this movement in operation by the Union, if you feel so disposed. Rev. Abernathy I feel, will gladly welcome you and all your forces in this respect; I have already asked him to throw his weight behind the rail services.

I do hope that you and Senator McNeal and others will throw the weight of your organization behind this movement; it is becoming tragic to see the rail services(pullman etc)and trains taken out of service, plus the loss of jobs for so many of our men. I feel that something can be done and in talking with railroad men - conductors in particular, they seem to feel that something can be done; that the Government can supplement the railroads as theysuppliment the highways etc, because it is an economic as well as a basic necessity for the conveyance of the public. I guess you know that the public is being driven off the trains rather than they - the railroads can't get business; they want freight and not passengers. These are the things that you should expose to the nation.

Now I do not propose to take the lead in this fight, with my very busy church schedule, but I do want to get something under way before we all wake up soon and find more men out of jobs and the millions of helpless people forced to ride busses and planes,which many detest. The railroads have long been a basic force in the Negro economy of America.

I realize that you are not as strong physically as you once were and that you have made a great contribution to the field of labor, but I am calling upon you to make this last ditch stand in the interest of the

CENTRAL BAPTIST CHURCH

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ELLIS S. OUTLAW, Church Clerk

railroad patronage and jobless men. You can call upon the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League and all of your unions to raise their voices to Congress and the nation, and with your influence, I believe you will be heard. S.C.L.C. is just waiting for voices like yours to be sounded and I feel it should be heard. You just need to expose the hypocrisy of the Railroad System and call for a national protest.

May I depend upon you? I am submitting a copy of this letter to your assistant Mr. McNeal and I have already contacted my Congressmen while in Washington.

Please think on these things and act accordingly.

I am,

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Elliott Huntley

Thomas Elliott Huntley

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1968
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 5, 1968

Rev. Thomas Elliott Huntley, D.D.
Central Baptist Church
4959 Cote Brilliante Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Dr. Huntley:

Thank you for your letter of May 24 expressing your interest in giving support to the Poor Peoples Campaign in Washington, and also working in the interest of rebuilding the railroad passenger service.

May I say that I am interested in both of these projects. The Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, Bayard Rustin, is coordinating the major march in Washington, June 19, for the Poor Peoples Campaign, and all of the Brotherhood, of course, is interested in its success.

Relative to passenger service, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been leading the fight for the rebuilding of the railroad passenger service. I am glad to know of your interest in these projects and will call upon you for support, expecially for the railway passenger service which is perhaps an effort which will carry on for quite some time.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph
International President

Bernice Wilds

TO: Rachelle Horowitz
Emma Thomas
Bernice Wilds

FROM: Eula Johnson

DATE: July 12, 1968

SUBJECT: Telegram Sent

I urge you to join Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Miss Dorothy Height on a Committee I am forming to support the challenge of the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi to be seated at the Democratic National Convention. The Committee will shun intra-party disputes, and will conduct a campaign around the single issue of electoral democracy in Mississippi. Please wire Bayard Rustin, the coordinator, at the A. Philip Randolph Institute, 217 West 125th Street, or telephone your reply to him at 666-9510. This struggle is vital and fundamental to the existence of democracy in the South. Time is short and your support is urgently needed. We are asking you to serve as an individual.

A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

WESTERN UNION
SENDING BLANK

CALL LETTERS FCL - PD 4/17/68 CHARGE TO BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Congratulations upon your victory in the passing of your Civil Rights Act of 1968, including the principle of open occupancy in housing.

A. Philip Randolph

Send the above message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

PLEASE TYPE OR WRITE PLAINLY WITHIN BORDER—DO NOT FOLD

1269—(R 4-55)

TO: Emma Thomas, Rachelle Horowitz, Bernice Wilds

FROM: Eula Johnson

SUBJECT: Wire sent - July 19 to Social Secretary White House

Regret my health makes it impossible for me to attend July 23 luncheon. May I suggest that you invite Bayard Rustin to sit in for me.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

ej

7/22 - Luncheon cancelled by Pres. Johnson

CGA106 (01)SYB298
SY WWY097 WWZ4 WWZ4 GOVT NL PDB WUX THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON
DC 20
HON A PHILIP RANDOLPH, DONT DWR
INTL BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS 217 WEST 125 ST
NYK

BECAUSE OF AN UNAVOIDABLE SCHEDULING PROBLEM THE PRESIDENT REGRETS THAT THE BUSINESS MEETING AND LUNCHEON SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1968, AT 12:30 P.M. AT THE WHITE HOUSE HAS BEEN CANCELLED

THE SOCIAL SECRETARY, THE WHITE HOUSE

RECEIVED
JUL 22 [illegible]
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 27, 1968

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The President thought you might like to have the enclosed pen of the type he used in signing S. 3497, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

It comes with his best wishes.

Yours truly,

Sherwin J. Markman

Sherwin J. Markman
Assistant to the President

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Enclosure

September 11, 1968

Mr. Sherwin J. Markman
Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Markman:

Thank you for your letter of August 27 enclosing one of the pens used by the President in signing S. 3497, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968.

I think this is one of the most important pieces of legislation in the history of our nation in the interest of the black and white poor.

Kindly express to the President my appreciation for the pen.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Obsequies

Martin Luther King Jr.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1968

10:30 A. M.

Ebenezer Baptist Church

2:00 P. M.

The Campus of Morehouse College

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Martin Luther King Jr.

1929 - 1968

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. is like the great Yggdrasil tree, "whose roots," a poet said, "are deep in earth but in whose upper branches the stars of heaven are glowing and astir."

His roots went deeply into the inferno of slavery, this black baby born January 15, 1929, to Alberta Williams King and Martin Luther King Sr. Now the roots have grown to those upper branches, and he is indeed among the stars of heaven, this beautiful man, husband, father, pastor, leader.

He is free and he is home, and the world has come to his home to honor him and hopefully, to repent the sins against him and all humanity.

Martin Luther King came of a deeply religious family tradition. His great grandfather was a slave exhorter. His maternal grandfather, the Rev. Adam Daniel Williams, was the second pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church where for eight years, Dr. King and his father were co-pastors.

This lineage which permeated his life was an enormous influence on him and what he would ultimately become.

His father, born at the turn of the century in Stockbridge, Georgia, came to Atlanta in 1916. In 1925, Martin Luther King Sr. married Alberta Williams. They were blessed with a daughter and two sons. The youngest son is the Reverend Alfred Daniel Williams King of Louisville, Kentucky, who went to Memphis, Tennessee, one infamous day "to help my brother." The daughter is Christine King Farris of Atlanta, who went to a home that night to comfort her brother's wife. The other son was Martin Luther King, Jr.

Reared in a home of love, understanding, and compassion, young Martin was to find 501 Auburn Avenue a buffer against the rampant injustices of the "sick society" for which he would become the physician.

A serious student, Martin Luther King was an early admissions student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, from which he graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1948.

His great "wrestling inside with the problem of a vocation" must have been prophetic of the many agonizing hours which would eventually characterize his life.

Having felt the stings of "man's inhumanity to man," Martin Luther King believed law would be his sphere for combating injustices. The ministry as he saw it was not socially relevant; however, at Morehouse, in the brilliant Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, he saw the ideal of what he wanted a minister to be. In his junior year, he gave himself to the ministry.

At Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, Martin Luther King was further stimulated but still his quest for a method to end social evil continued. Through courses at the University of Pennsylvania, deep, serious reading, and provocative lectures, he began to find answers which would crystallize his thinking and give him the philosophy by which he would "redeem the soul of America." Because of the color of his skin, his life was threatened at this institution, but with the aplomb that would be typical of his response to later threats, he disarmed his attacker.

He was the first Negro to be elected president of Crozer's student body, and this began what would become a series of firsts for this son whose roots were in slavery.

With a partially satisfied, but still fermenting mind, he matriculated at Boston University, at the time the center of personalism, the philosophical posture which he had adopted. Studying under two of the greatest exponents of his philosophy, Martin King was to find this theory an enormously sustaining force in the future.

In Boston, he met Coretta Scott, an equally concerned and talented New England Conservatory student from the South. On June 18, 1953, at her Marion, Alabama home she became Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. She was later to realize her highest dreams, not in concertizing, but in singing the songs of freedom and being her husband's disciple from "Montgomery to Montgomery."

This happy marriage brought into life four children; Yolanda Denise, born November 17, 1955; Martin Luther III, born October 23, 1957; Dexter Scott, born January 30, 1961; and Bernice Albertine, born March 28, 1963.

The Ph.D. degree was awarded Martin Luther King in 1955, and again there was a great "wrestling inside." Sensitive to the needs of his native South, he decided to return to the land from whence he had sprung, and preach a "socially relevant and intellectually responsible" gospel. He accepted the "call" to Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, and began his pastorate September 1, 1954.

The cradle of the Confederacy was a seething cauldron of racial injustice, and this grandson of a founder of the Atlanta Branch NAACP was asked to assume the presidency of the Montgomery Branch NAACP. Again the wrestle.

Finally, he answered negatively, but on December 1, 1955, the refusal of Mrs. Rosa Parks to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery bus made the young, erudite minister answer affirmatively when asked to chair the newly formed Montgomery Improvement Association.

Mrs. Parks' arrest for violation of the system of racial segregation set off a new American Revolution. Daring to do what was right, Ralph and Juanita Abernathy stood up with Martin and Coretta King when there were nothing but "valleys of despair," and their loyalty has never known the midnight.

Now, the myriad religious and philosophical forces which had shaped his life would be put to the test and this selfless, compassionate man would "forget himself into immortality."

"Christian love can bring brotherhood on earth. There is an element of God in every man," said he after his home was bombed in Montgomery. This new attack on America's social system gave every day application to the teachings of Jesus, and captured the conscience of the world.

On April 4, 1968, an assassin took the earthly life of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Profound, but unpretentious; gentle, but valiant; Baptist, but ecumenical; loving justice, but hating injustice; the deep roots of this Great Spirit resolved the agonizing wrestling and gave all mankind new hope for a bright tomorrow.

It is, now, for us, the living to dedicate and rededicate our lives to the Cause which Martin Luther King so nobly advanced.

He Had a Dream.

The Leadership Of
MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

1955-56	Montgomery Bus Boycott
1957	Founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
1958	Beginning of massive South-wide voter registration
1959	Nonviolent education programs; school integration drives
1960	Founding of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the sit-in movement
1961	Freedom Rides; the Albany Movement — Albany, Georgia
1962	Establishment of SCLC Citizenship Education Program and SCLC Operation Breadbasket
1963	The Birmingham Movement; The March on Washington
1964	The Nobel Prize for Peace; the Civil Rights Act of 1964
1965	The Selma-to-Montgomery March; The Voting Rights Act of 1965
1966	The Chicago Movement; the March Against Fear in Mississippi
1967	The war in Vietnam and the call for peace; the Cleveland Movement
1968	The Poor People's Campaign; Memphis

Memorial Services

Martin Luther King Jr.

1929 - 1968

I. Ebenezer Baptist Church .... Family and Faith

II. Memorial March .... Commitment and Movement

III. The Morehouse College Campus .... Knowledge and Wisdom

IV. Interment .... *"Free at last, free at last!*
Thank God Almighty, I'm
free at last!"

Atlanta, Georgia

April 9, 1968

I

Memorial Services

Martin Luther King Jr.

EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH

10:30 A. M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating

PROCESSIONAL — *"Cortege"* .... Dupre

HYMN — *"When I Survey the Wondrous Cross"* .. arr. Lowell Mason

PRAYER .... The Reverend Ronald English
Assistant Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church

HYMN — *"In Christ There Is No East or West"* ....
Alexander R. Reinagle

OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE ....
The Reverend William H. Borders
Pastor, Wheat Street Baptist Church

HYMN — *"Softly and Tenderly"* .... Will L. Thompson

NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE .... The Reverend E. H. Dorsey
Pastor, Tabernacle Baptist Church

HYMN — *"Where He Leads Me"* .... J. S. Norris

TRIBUTE .... Dr. L. Harold De Wolfe
Mentor of Dr. King

SOLO — *"My Heavenly Father Watches Over Me"* ....
Charles H. Gabriel
Mrs. Mary Gurley

SERMON EXCERPTS

SPIRITUAL — *"Balm in Gilead"* .... Traditional

RECESSIONAL — *"Largo"* from *"New World Symphony"* .... Dvorak

II

Memorial March

Martin Luther King Jr. marched
for freedom.

We march today in
grateful recognition of the freedom
he has now achieved.

Martin Luther King Jr.

The Campus of Morehouse College

2:00 P. M.

The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, Officiating

PRELUDE .... Improvisations on Negro Spirituals
Improvisations on *"We Shall Overcome"*

PROCESSIONAL — *"Cortege"* .... Dupre

HYMN — *"O God, Our Help In Ages Past"* .... Isaac Watts

PRAYER .... Dr. Gardner C. Taylor
President, Progressive National Baptist Convention

OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE .... Rabbi Abraham Heschel
Professor, Jewish Theological Seminary of America

SPIRITUAL — *"Balm in Gilead"* .... Traditional
Morehouse College Glee Club

NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE .. The Reverend Franklin C. Frye
President, National Council of Churches

SPIRITUAL — *"Ain't Got Time to Die"* .... Traditional
Ebenezer Baptist Church Choir

TRIBUTES:

THE HONORABLE IVAN ALLEN, JR.
Mayor, City of Atlanta

MR. ROBERT J. COLLIER
Chairman, Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church

MOST REVEREND JOHN J. WRIGHT
Bishop of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

MRS. ROSA PARKS
"Mother" of Montgomery Movement

THE REVEREND J. E. LOWERY
Chairman, Board of Directors, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference

THE REVEREND ANDREW J. YOUNG
Executive Vice President, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference

SOLO — *"Precious Lord, Take My Hand"* .... Thomas A. Dorsey
Miss Mahalia Jackson

EULOGY .... Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President Emeritus, Morehouse College

HYMN — *"The Morehouse College Hymn"* .... J. O. B. Mozeley

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

BENEDICTION .... Bishop W. R. Wilkes
Presiding Bishop, Third Episcopal District,
African Methodist Episcopal Church

RECESSIONAL — *"Largo"* from *"New World Symphony"* .... Dvorak

Interment

South View
Cemetery

THE DREAMS AND INSPIRATION OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

◆

"History has thrust upon our generation an indescribably important destiny—to complete a process of democratization which our nation has too long developed too slowly, How we deal with with this crucial situation will determine our moral health as individuals, our cultural health as a region, our political health as a nation, and our prestige as a leader of the free world."

— 1958

◆

"Although I cannot pay the fine, I will willingly accept the alternative which you provide, and that I will do without malice."

— Statement to an Alabama judge, 1958

◆

"It may get me crucified. I may even die. But I want it said even if I die in the struggle that 'He died to make men free' ".

— 1962

◆

"The question is not whether we will be extremist but what kind of extremists will we be. Will we be extremists for hate or will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice-or will we be extremists for the cause of justice?

— Letter from a Birmingham Jail
April, 1963

"I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but the content of their character."

— The March on Washington,
August 28, 1963

◆

"Some of you have knives, and I ask you to put them up. Some of you have arms, and I ask you to put them up. Get the weapon of nonviolence, the breastplate of righteousness, the armor of truth and just keep marching."

— 1964

◆

"Cowardice asks the question, 'Is it safe?' Expediency asks the question, 'Is it politic?' Vanity asks the question, 'Is it popular?' But conscience asks the question, 'Is it right?' And there comes a time when one must take a position that is neither safe, nor politic, nor popular, but he must take it because conscience tells him that it is right."

— On Taking a position against
the war in Vietnam, 1967

◆

"Poor people's lives are disrupted and dislocated every day. We want to put a stop to this. Poverty, racism and discrimination cause families to be kept apart, men to become desperate, women to live in fear, and children to starve."

— On the Poor People's Campaign, 1968

◆

"Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will . . . . . I've looked over and I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land."

— April 3, 1968

Honorary Pallbearers:

Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church

S. C. L. C. Staff

Men of the Clergy

Active Pallbearers:

1. Mr. Milton Cornelius
2. Mr. Jethro English
3. Mr. Arthur Henderson
4. Mr. Howard Dowdy
5. Reverend C. K. Steele
6. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth
7. Reverend Jesse Jackson
8. Reverend Fred C. Bennette

"I Tried to Love and Serve Humanity"

"If any of you are around when I have to meet my day, I don't want a long funeral. And if you get somebody to deliver the eulogy, tell him not to talk too long ..... Tell them not to mention that I have a Nobel Peace Prize. That isn't important. Tell them not to mention that I have three or four hundred other awards. That's not important. Tell them not to mention where I went to school. I'd like somebody to mention that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others.' I'd like for somebody to say that day, that 'Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.' I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day, that I did try to feed the hungry. And I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day, that I did try, in my life, to visit those who were in prison. I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity."

— Martin Luther King Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia
Sunday, February 4, 1968

To Our Friends

In this hour of sadness, we wish to acknowledge with deepest gratitude the great outpouring of sympathy and warm consolation we have received from our friends throughout the world. You have lifted our hearts, and with your help and the immortal guiding spirit of our son, husband, father, brother, martyred leader — MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. — *We Shall Overcome.*

THE FAMILY OF MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Funeral Under the Direction of:
HANLEY BELL STREET FUNERAL HOME
MARCELLOUS THORNTON FUNERAL HOME
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1968
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

A. Phillip Randolph
International President
International Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters
New York, New York

Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr.

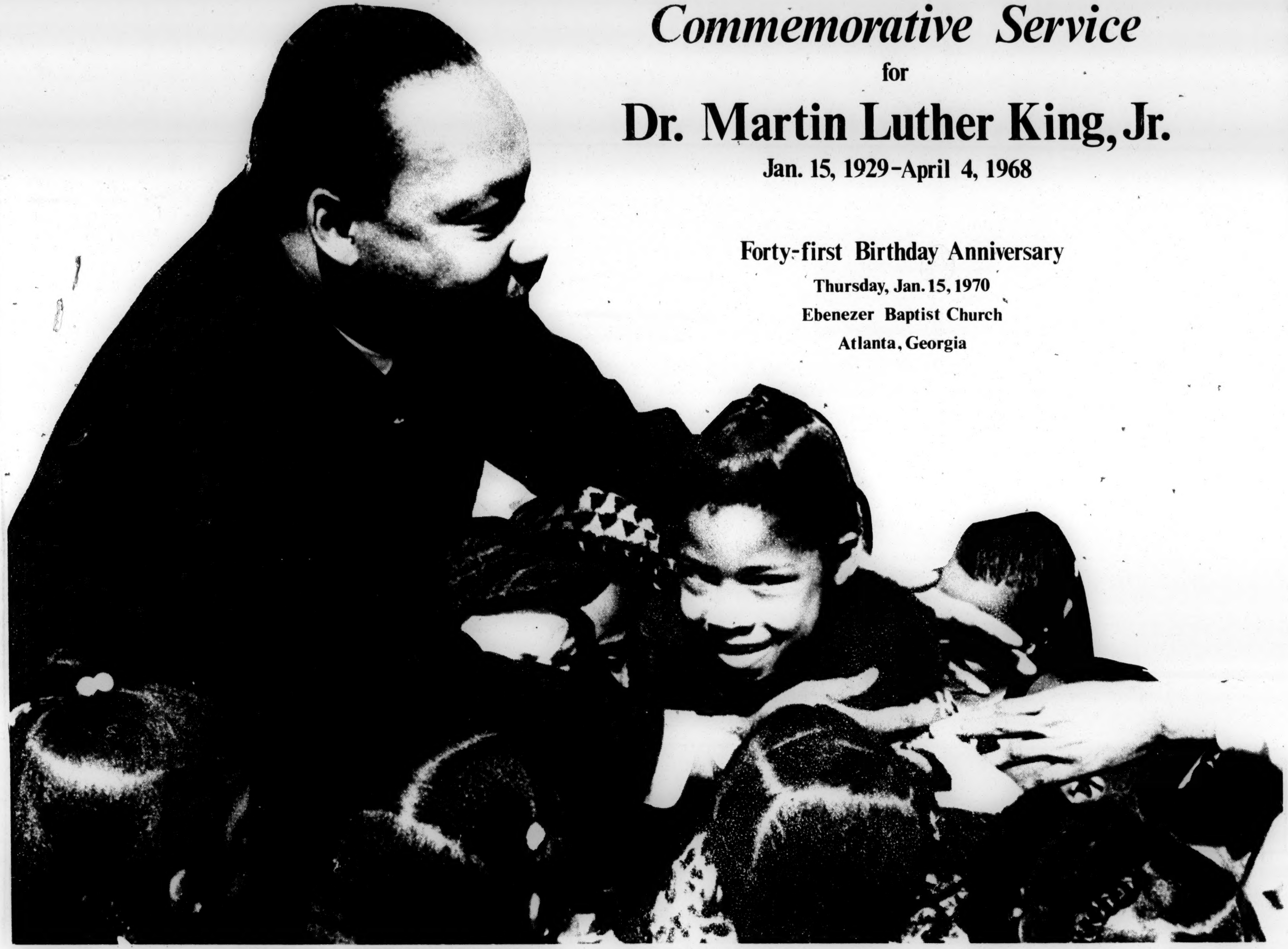
and children

deeply appreciate and gratefully

acknowledge your kind expression

of sympathy

file



Commemorative Service

for

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Jan. 15, 1929-April 4, 1968

Forty-first Birthday Anniversary

Thursday, Jan. 15, 1970
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Commemorative Service
Sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center
for
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Jan. 15, 1929–April 4, 1968

Forty-first Birthday Anniversary
Thursday, Jan. 15, 1970
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

Presiding: The Reverend J. E. Lowery, Chairman of the Board, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Prelude: "Prayer for Peace" – Demerest
Hymn: "O God, Our Help in Ages Past" – Watts
Prayer: The Reverend E. R. Searcy, President, Progressive National Baptist Convention
Hymn: "Softly and Tenderly" – Will L. Thompson
Scripture: The Reverend Ronald English, Ebenezer Baptist Church
Spiritual: "Study War No More" – Traditional   Ebenezer Baptist Church Choirs
Statement on the Occasion: Dr. Vincent Harding, Acting Director, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center
Tributes: The Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference
The Honorable Sam Massell, Mayor of the City of Atlanta
Mr. Robert J. Collier, Chairman, Board of Deacons, Ebenezer Baptist Church
Spirituals: "We Shall Overcome" – Traditional   Morehouse College Glee Club
"Balm in Gilead" – Traditional   Morehouse College Glee Club
Commemoration Address: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Chairman, Board of Trustees, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center
Spiritual: "Ain't Got Time to Die" – Traditional   Ebenezer Baptist Church Choirs
Appeal: The Reverend C. T. Vivian, Chairman of the Governing Board, Institute of the Black World, Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center
Response on behalf of the Family: The Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church
Benediction: The Reverend Fred C. Bennette, Jr., Ebenezer Baptist Church
Processional to the Crypt: "We Shall Overcome"

* * * * * * *

The musical selections are among the favorites of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center
Mrs. Coretta Scott King, President
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Chairman, Board of Trustees

Board of Directors

Rev. Walter Fauntroy, Chairman
Dr. John McGuire, Vice Chairman
Dr. Vincent Harding, Director of the Center
Mr. Harry Wachtel, Legal Adviser
Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.
Mrs. Alberta Williams King
Mrs. Coretta Scott King
Mrs. Christine King Farris
Mr. Isaac Farris, Sr.
Mrs. Edythe Scott Bagley

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
Rev. Ralph David Abernathy
Rev. Andrew J. Young
Mr. Harry Belafonte
Mr. Stanley Levison
Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell
Dr. Albert E. Manley
Rev. C. T. Vivian
Miss Dora McDonald

Photo: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Newark, N.J., March 27, 1968 (UPI Photo)

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1968
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

RD#1 Ferry Road
Doylestown Pa
18901

5/15/68

Dear Mr. Randolph;

I hope all is well with you and the Brotherhood. My general health is good but I still have the disabling effects of the stroke.

Since my arrival in the States April 3rd there has been more turmoil than usual. While some of it is inevitable considering the world upheavals involving violence and destructive for the last two generations, still the "Black Power" movement with its divisive emphasis on color is disturbing.

When I first heard of the commotion over P.S 201(?) in Harlem for community control, I first thought of it as an entering wedge for the CPers to use our folk for their own ends. But after reading and seeing on TV what happened in P.S. 271 in Bklyn I'm not sure who are the instigators. However the end result will be most harmful to us as a group and especially to the children who need all the training and education they can possibly get.

Is it possible for the Randolph Institute to hold a conference of reliable leaders of experience to make recommendations to the Bd of Education and the "militants" (if they will listen to recommendations how the community may effectively participate in the schools for the advancement of the students and the entire community.

I do hope something constructive can be done

With best wishes

Fraternally

Layle Lane

May 22, 1968

Miss Layle Lane
R.D. #1, Ferry Road
Doylestown, Pennsylvania 18901

Dear Layle:

I was glad to get your letter of May 15, with your comments on the school situation and your suggestion that the A. Philip Randolph Institute hold a conference on the matter to develop discussion and dialogue.

I think something will have to be done, otherwise there will be utter chaos and anarchy in the Negro community as the result of the efforts of the Black Powerites to take over the schools in the ghettos on the grounds that white teachers don't give Negro youth proper education and inspiration. Of course I think this position is entirely ridiculous because if it is proper and sound to exclude whites from the Negro communities (people who have passed examinations and are hired to positions in the schools) what are Negroes, who get ninety percent of their income from jobs that are not in the Negro communities, going to do?

Moreover, the whole idea of contending that power can be created by people in one area, on a basis of racial organization, is as irrelevant to economic and social justice as Zoroastrianism is to the Space Age.

Anyone who will take the time to read any treatise on economics will find that power springs from the ownership of property, and the organization of labor, business, consumers, and tenants into movements to fight for their interests. Business people will naturally fight for profits; labor for wages; tenants for lower rents; and consumers for lower prices.

Then, there is the need for community organization to improve the conditions in the community, including schools, not for any particular group but for the children of anybody who lives in the community.

Well, Layle, it has been a long time since I have heard from you and I hope you are well and enjoying life. Some time when you are in New York I hope you will come to visit me as you used to do.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

October 25, 1968

Dear Friend:

In his new book, "Beyond Civil Rights," Hubert H. Humphrey has written a concise history of the civil rights movement since World War II and a moving plea for achieving full equality through the democratic process.

As you undoubtedly know, I am supporting and working for Mr. Humphrey's election. Nevertheless, because of the value of this book, I would want to call it to your attention even if that were not the case. If you agree with me, you can utilize the book to help the Humphrey campaign:

. by calling it to the attention of local newspapers that will review it sympathetically or comment on it editorially;

. by having it discussed on local radio or TV programs;

. by bringing its words to members of organizations in which you are active or simply by quoting it to others.

Mr. Humphrey is correct when he says the approaching election faces the country with "a hazardous choice": a choice between "separation and community."

I believe this book can help Americans make a choice that will enable us to fulfill our common dream of a single, democratic nation. I urge you to do what you can to bring the book the wide audience it deserves - and Mr. Humphrey the support he needs to win.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

January 18, 1968

Mrs. Elaine Owen Ratliff
13403 S. Kedzie Avenue
Blue Island, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Ratliff:

I want to thank you for your kind letter commenting on the friendship between Chandler Owen and myself. I was very glad to meet you, although the occasion was a sad one.

I want to advise that Mr. Ben Waknin, a young writer who is writing a biography of myself, interviewed Chandler last year in Chicago about our friendship and association. He informed me that Chandler took him to the LaSalle National Safe Deposit Corporation in the Field Building in Chicago, and showed him some papers he kept there in a safe deposit box.

I would suggest that you go the bank and make known to them your relationship to Chandler and ask them to let you have the contents of the box. I don't know whether or not they will give them to you, but since you are a relative of Chandler I think you are entitled to them.

I would like to hear from you about the reaction of the bank to your request.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

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A P RANDOLPH
260 PARK AVE SOUTH NYK

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR NORMAN THOMAS MONDAY DECEMBER 23 AT COMMUNITY CHURCH 45 EAST 35 ST NY. IF YOU CAN BE AN HONORARY USHER PLEASE MEET FAMILY DOWNSTAIRS IN ASSEMBLY HALL 12:30. REPLY NOT NECESSARY

WILLIAM THOMAS, EVAN THOMAS, HARRY FLEISCHMAN.

SF1201(R2-65)

American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa

Suite 305, 15 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y. 10016/(212) 685-2260

All communications to:
Theodore E. Brown
Director

CALL
COMMITTEE
James Farmer
Dorothy I. Height
Martin Luther King, Jr.
A. Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

January 5, 1968

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
AFL-CIO
217 West 125th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Increasing concern over bloodshed with Nigerians killing Nigerians compels Negro leaders to explore possibilities of the prompt ending of hostilities.

Mr. Ahmed Joda, Permanent Secretary Federal Ministry of Information, Mr. Philip Asiodu, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Trade, and Mr. Allison Ayida, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Economic Development, all from Lagos, Nigeria, have requested that we meet with them Monday evening, January 15, 1968, 8:00 P.M. at the Brotherhood-In-Action Building, 40th Street at 7th Ave., New York City, N.Y.

You may recall a similar meeting was arranged last October 6, 1967 at the request of Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe who spoke regarding the secessionist point of view. We would appreciate your attendance at this meeting and will look forward to a favorable reply from you.

Sincerely,

Roy Wilkins

Roy Wilkins
Chairman, Call Committee
American Negro Leadership Conference
15 East 40th St., New York, N.Y.

RECEIVED
JAN 10 [illegible]
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ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE C - S 1969

Cable Address: MACSCO, Philadelphia
Telephone: KIngsley 5-4270

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225 SOUTH 15TH STREET
Philadelphia, Pa., 19102

April 2, 1969

Miss Wilds
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue, S.
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Miss Wilds:

Today, under separate cover, I am sending you another copy of BUILD BROTHER BUILD by the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, to be certain that Mr. Randolph does receive the book. If it does not arrive within a few days, will you kindly advise me.

Sincerely,

Peggy Carroll

(Miss) Peggy Carroll

pc/

January 6, 1969

Miss Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Roberta:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter concerning your interest in securing a position in the Nixon administration. I note your suggestion that I write to Mr. Harry Fleming in your behalf. You have not indicated what position you are seeking. I will be glad to write Mr. Fleming, but I think it would be more effective if I could indicate the position you would like to get. However, I am writing him anyway so that when you apply to him for a place he will have my letter recommending you for a position.

Now, relative to your plan to write a biography of your distinguished father, and your desire to get permission to use clippings from the Champion Magazine, may I say that I never owned the Champion Magazine; my magazine was The Messenger. The owner of the Champion Magazine is now deceased. I don't think you would have any difficulty in making use of any material from that publication.

Mr. Fred Moore, publisher of the New York Age is also dead and the publication no longer exists. The New York News is no longer in existence and the publisher is deceased. Howdver, I can see no reason why you should not use any clippings you desire that appeared in the publications.

If there is any further help you wish me to give you just let me know and I will be glad to cooperate with you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

January 31, 1969

Miss Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Roberta:

Find enclosed copy of letter from Mr. Harry S. Flemming which is self-explanatory.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

Enc.

November 23, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The city of Memphis, Tennessee, my home town, is celebrating its Sesquicentennial this year. At the request of the Memphis Sesquicentennial Inc. a few months ago, my Aunt and I prepared some information about my grandfather, the late Robert R. Church Sr. one of the pioneer citizens of Memphis. The Sesquicentennial Commission selected the title and asked us to write the monograph which has been published by the Sesquicentennial and is being distributed to the public at its office in downtown Memphis along with other monographs.

Since you were a good friend of my father's I thought you woudl like to see one of the monographs, a copy of which is enclosed.

As is our usual custom, my Aunt and I plan to spend the Christmas Holidays in Memphis and we are looking forward to going home. My Aunt joins me in sending greetings to you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D.C. 20009

Published and distributed by Memphis Sesquicentennial Inc.-City Hall-Memphis, Tenn. 38103

ROBERT R. CHURCH, SR., MEMPHIS' FIRST BLACK CAPITALIST

Robert R. Church, Sr. was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, on June 18, 1839. He came to Memphis in 1851 after his mother's death and began his career working on Mississippi River steamboats. He was one of the survivors of the steamer Bulletin No. 2 when it burned in 1855, and he escaped from the river during the Battle of Memphis on June 6, 1862, when the Federal Fleet captured the steamboat Victoria on which he worked as steward and seized the city.

After the yellow fever epidemics of 1878 and 1879 when Memphis became involved in heavy debt and had been reduced to a Taxing District, Robert R. Church, Sr. was the first citizen to buy a bond when they were offered for sale in an effort to pay off the debt and restore the City Charter. He paid $1,000.00 for Bond No. 1 of the first series.

The purchase of the Bond is recalled in an article about him in the Souvenir Edition of the *Memphis Evening Scimitar* issue of October 1891 which stated:

> ". . . A firm believer in Memphis, war and plagues have never shaken his faith in her . . .
>
> After the epidemics of 1878 and 1879 when Memphis overwhelmed almost with debt had surrendered her charter, the debt was funded by the issuance of Taxing District Bonds.
>
> They were the first issued, and their market value was hence problematical. But Mr. Church showed his faith . . . in coming to the front the first man to purchase a bond. He holds Bond No. 1 of the first series.
>
> "With this example before them, capitalists of the Caucasian race could not afford to be shy, and the whole of the bonds was placed. Mr. Church has never been appealed to in vain. Whether it was to contribute to a fair, a trades display, the reception of a president, republican or democrat, to a church, an orphan asylum or to a private charity, he has always responded promptly and liberally, regardless of whether the beneficiaries were of his own color or political faith . . ."

The Art Supplement of The Greater Memphis Edition of the *Scimitar* in April 1899, when commenting on Robert Church's loyalty to Memphis, stated:

> ". . . It may be said of Robert Church in all truth that his word is as good as his bond. No appeal to him for the aid of any charity or public enterprise for the benefit of Memphis has ever been made in vain . . . He is for Memphis first, last and all the time."

And on December 30, 1913, one year and four months after Church's death, *The Commercial Appeal's* Southern Prosperity Edition in an article about him said:

> "A substantial story of the triumph of Memphis as a great city could not be written without an account of the marvelous career of the late R. R. Church, who built a fame on character and left two fortunes, one consisting of a great estate as men appraise wealth, and the other a heritage for his children and all the people . . .
>
> Through forty years or more of business activity he saw his town grow from a boasting village to a city of renown, and he was part of the bravery of those who grappled with such problems as few builders have been compelled to overcome . . .
>
> A quarter of a century ago his discerning eye saw the present Memphis . . .
>
> ". . . Mr. Church gave attention to civil affairs and was always active and ready to support any movement looking to upbuilding and improving his city. He was a Republican and was repeatedly a delegate in the city, county, state and national conventions of the Republicans . . . Mr. Church gave freely to every cause that was worthy and to no charity did he turn a deaf ear. His bounty knew neither religion, party, nor race. In his life as now his home, one of culture and refinement among his own, was the abode of all the great and distinguished of his race who came within the city's gates . . .
>
> "A friend to every movement that made his city better, he was a benefactor to colored people, thousands of whom miss him now. He was not only their example but their friend and counselor . . . They sought to establish a bank; he founded for them The Solvent Savings Bank and Trust Co., the largest bank owned by colored people in Tennessee, the third largest in the world. They sought a temple of pleasure; he laid off six acres of choicest Memphis land in the heart of the city, planted rare flowers and made beautiful walks and built there the largest theatre owned by colored people in all the country . . . whatever they asked for he sought to give."

Church's successful business ventures resulted in his being recognized as the first member of his race to become a millionaire in the South. In referring to Church's Park and Auditorium the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* on October 29, 1956 commented:

> ". . . The park was named for the late Robert R. Church, Sr. first Negro in the South to become a millionaire . . ."

Citizens in the civic, political and business life of Memphis were friends of Robert R. Church, Sr. and he was judged and respected on his integrity of character and his loyalty to Memphis.

In this connection special mention is made of John Overton, Jr. whose ancestor was one of the founders of Memphis. Mr. Overton was a member of the real estate firm of Overton and Overton located at 264 Second Street, which was one of the oldest and largest real estate firms in Tennessee. It was Robert Church's interest in real estate that precipitated the meeting of the two men. Mr. Overton was impressed with Church's foresight and business acumen and a friendship developed that lasted throughout their lives.

An incident is recalled, when Church decided to take a trip to Europe in 1888, that illustrates the confidence and trust Overton placed in him. Robert Church said he asked Mr. Overton if he could call on him for financial aid in the event an emergency arose while he was out of the country, and Mr. Overton responded by giving him a signed blank check saying when he gave it to him: "I am doing something for you I would not do for my own son."

And in recognition of Church's many contributions to Memphis, Mr. Overton wrote in one of his letters to him:

> "My dear friend:
>
> "Owing to our lifelong friendship, I am almost forced to write you and say with the utmost sincerity that your name will live in Memphis long after you have crossed the river . . ."

Robert R. Church was a friend and benefactor of W. C. Handy, "Father of the Blues", and Mr. Handy expressed gratitude and appreciation in a letter to Church's daughter December 19, 1956, in which he said in part:

> "I appreciate so much your memories of the days when I played for dances at Church's Park, and for me these are unforgettable memories . . .

"Mr. Thorton caused me to come to Memphis to teach the K of P Bands, and through Jim Turner who played for many a dance for Mr. Church I got a start as an orchestra leader there. I am originally from Florence, Alabama but when I was quite a youngster I used to ride excursions to Memphis, and in those days it was the name of Bob Church that drew people to Memphis from all over the South, and it was my good fortune to have some very pleasant conversations with Mr. Church, Sr."

"I stand indebted to your brother Mr. Robert R. Church, Jr. for a piece of advice which I followed. I was copyrighting my compositions under the name of Pace and Handy Music Co., and he told me to copyright my compositions in my name which I did with St. Louis Blues and it paid off . . ."

Finally, in an article published in the Mid-South Magazine Section of the *Commercial Appeal,* Sunday, March 21, 1965, by Thomas Michael titled "Beale Street From Handy to Tomorrow" Mr. Michael said:

> ", . . To Beale Street itself—to the people who really know the place that is—the one great heroic figure of its history is not a musician at all . . . He is rather a politician businessman named Robert R. Church, Sr., a son Robert R. Church, Jr. succeeded him as top figure on Beale Street . . ."

The Beale Street Urban Renewal Project is to rebuild Church's Park and Auditorium on its original site, and some friends and citizens of Memphis think a suitable memorial to Robert R. Church, Sr. should be included in recognition of his many contributions to the welfare of Memphis.

—by Annette E. Church
and Roberta Church

Prepared at request of Memphis Sesquicentennial Inc. -1969-

December 4, 1969

Dear Roberta:

It was a great pleasure, I assure you, to read the splendid monograph you and your aunt prepared on your distinguished grandfather, Robert R. Church, Sr. I want to thank you for sending it to me.

May I extend holiday greetings to you and your aunt and my best wishes for the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Miss Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Phone: AUdubon 6-2626-7 (Organized 1808)

THE ABYSSINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH

132 WEST 138th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10030
Adam C. Powell, Minister

DAVID N. LICORISH
Associate Minister

HATTIE F. DODSON
Adm. Secretary

TRUSTEES
LEON A. DeKALB, Chairman
C. D. KING, Treasurer

DEACONS
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CLAXTON DIXON, Secretary

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December 27, 1969

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
260 Park Avenue, South
New York City, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Our Pastor-Congressman, Rev.Dr. Adam C. Powell is being tendered a Testimonial Luncheon, Saturday January 31, 1970, 12:00 Noon at the Americana Grand Ballroom, 52 Street and 7th Avenue, New York City.

The Church Wide Leaders Council of the Abyssinian Baptist Church is sponsoring the Testimonial, honoring Mr. Powell's 39 years in the Ministry and 25 years in the United States Congress.

Because you are one of his good friends and because he holds you in the highest esteem, it would make us very happy if you will consent to serve as an honorary member of the Testimonial Committee.

We would appreciate an immediate reply for our Program Committee. Please address your answer to-

"Mrs. Hattie F. Dodson, Secy
132 West 138 Street
New York City, N.Y. 10030"

Thank you for your cooperation and may the New Year bring to you and yours, Peace and Prosperity.

Sincerely,
Clara B. Cluff
Clara B. Cluff, Chairman
(Rev Dr.)David N. Licorish, Advisor
Mildred Walker, Coordinator

December 30, 1969

Mrs. Hattie F. Dodson
Administrative Secretary
The Abyssinian Baptist Church
132 West 138 Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mrs. Dodson:

I will be glad to serve as an honorary member of the Testimonial Committee honoring my friend Adam Powell. I regret, however, that for reasons of health I will not be able to take an active part in the program.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY
330 WEST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10036
A DIVISION OF McGRAW-HILL, INC.

PROFESSIONAL & REFERENCE BOOK DIVISION

July 16, 1969

Same letter to APR re Meany

Mr. George Meany
8819 Burdette Road
Bethesda, Maryland

Dear Mr. Meany,

Would you consider writing a 500-word biography on A. Philip Randolph for a new 12-volume reference set we are preparing on the 5,000 outstanding people in the history of mankind? To be called the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD BIOGRAPHY, the set will follow such other world famous McGraw-Hill multi-volume projects as the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY and the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD ART. A descriptive brochure is enclosed.

It hardly needs saying that you are in a unique position to make a significant contribution to the biographical materials available to today's high school and college students. Other than this my request to you is no different from our standard offer to hundreds of worthy but less distinguished contributors:

1. The article will carry your name, with a complete "author" identification in the front matter.

2. The honorarium is 5 cents a word or $25.

3. Manuscript paper and model articles to serve as guides in preparing your manuscript will be sent as soon as we receive your agreement to write the biography.

4. Could we have the article before October 1?

It would be both a personal pleasure and a distinct honor for the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD BIOGRAPHY to add your name to our contributor list. May I hear from you at your earliest convenience?

With every best wish,

David Eggenberger

David I. Eggenberger
Editor-in-Chief

DIE:rd
Enclosure

August 22, 1969

Mr. David I. Eggenberger
Editor-in-Chief
Professional & Reference Book Division
McGraw-Hill Book Company
330 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Dear Mr. Eggenberger:

This will refer to your letter suggesting that I write a 500-work biography on George Meany to be included in the Encyclopedia of World Biography.

May I say that I will be very happy to do so and will plan to get it to you before the deadline of October 1.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South / New York, N.Y. 10010 / (212) 533-8000

September 29, 1969

Mr.David I. Eggenberger
Editor-in-Chief
McGraw-Hill Book Company
330 West 42nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Dear Mr. Eggenberger:

Enclosed is my biography of George Meany. I have enclosed a list of biographical references as well. I hope you find the article satisfactory.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
President

APR/hh
encl:

Contributor [illegible]

Page 1 of 3 Pages Field ______ Staff Ed. ______ Date Rec'd ______

Elite Pica

MEANY, GEORGE (1894-   ), American labor leader. As President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, he is one of the foremost and most powerful leaders of Labor in the Twentieth Century. Since 1955 he has been President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

George Meany was born on August 16, 1894 in New York City. He inherited his dedication to the trade union movement from his father, Michael Meany, who was President of a local plumbers union. When he was forced to leave high school due to difficult family circumstances, the young Meany chose his father's trade and served a five-year apprenticeship, receiving his journeymen plumber's certificate in 1915.

In 1922 he was elected business agent of his local. Although unionism did not thrive during the conservative twenties, Meany steadily broadened his activities within the building trades and later in the Central Trades. In 1934 he was elected President of the New York State Federation of Labor, a post he held until 1939. Meany took advantage of the progressive mood of this period by helping to enact more pro-labor bills and social reform measures than had previously been passed by the New York State Legislature in its entire history. His outstanding record in New York was largely responsible for his election in 1939 as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL.

During World War II, Meany served as a member of the War Labor Board and represented the AFL on the President's Committee to draw up a wartime labor policy. He also served on a special committee that President Roosevelt consulted regularly on labor-management problems during the war. After the war, he helped establish the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which contributed to the success of the Marshall Plan for the rehabilitation of Europe following the end of the Second World War.

On November 25, 1952, following the death of William Green, Meany was chosen President of the AFL by its Executive Council. Three years later, he was unanimously elected President of the newly combined AFL-CIO at its first convention in New York City. Since that time he has been consistently re-elected without opposition.

Meany was twice appointed by President Eisenhower to be a U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. He has been the recipient of many awards, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1963.

Throughout his career, Meany has been interested in reform, both within the labor movement and within the larger society. As President of the AFL and the AFL-CIO, he initiated the first major attacks on [illegible] Contributor A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Page 3 of 3 Pages Field ______ Staff Ed. ______ Date Rec'd ______

corruption in the unions and was responsible for the establishment of a code of ethical practices for all affiliates. He has also taken important steps toward the elimination of racial discrimination in the labor movement.

He has put the full political force of the labor movement behind efforts to enact Civil Rights legislation. Without the support of the trade union movement, none of the Civil Rights bills that have been passed during the last decade would have gotten through Congress. The results of these bills--the abolition of Jim Crow and the achievement of voting rights for Negroes in the South--are a testament to the persisting relevance of the trade union movement and to the social vision of George Meany.

January 6, 1969

Personal

The Honorable Harry Fleming
Office of the President-Elect
Federal Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Although I have not had the honor of meeting you personally, I am familiar with your work and the fact that you are one of the distinguished citizens of our country and have played an important role in our government.

I am writing in behalf of Miss Roberta Church of 1629 Columbia Road, N. W., Washington, D. C., who is interested in securing a position in the administration of President-elect Nixon.

Miss Church is the daughter of the late Robert R. Church, who was one of the best known Negro leaders in the Republican Party in the United States. Since I was a close personal friend of his and he worked with me, in cooperation with the late Senator Robert Taft, to secure federal legislation for the establishment of a fair employment practice commission, I feel greatly honored to recommend his daughter for a position.

I have known Miss Church for a number of years and consider her a wholly responsible person who can be depended upon to serve the administration and her country honorably and well.

I assume that she will send you a resume of her education and experience for your information about her availability for a place in the administration.

May I hope that you may find it possible and convenient to give her an opportunity to work with you.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph
President

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
RICHARD M. NIXON
WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 10, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Re: Miss Roberta Church

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you for your thoughtful recommendation for appointment to the new Administration. Your high regard for the applicant is particularly meaningful to us.

We want you to know that President-Elect Nixon is grateful for your participation in this important program and that your views will be given every consideration.

Sincerely,

Harry Flemming

Harry S. Flemming
Special Assistant to the President-Elect

ROBERT W. GILMORE
President
CHARLES B. BLOOMSTEIN
Vice President
RICHARD HUDSON
Editor, War/Peace Report
VIRGINIA F. SAURWEIN
Director, War/Peace Services
JACK BOLLENS
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1730 Grove Street
Berkeley, California 94709
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218 EAST 18th STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003 • (212) GRamercy 5-0850

September 19, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Philip Randolph,

The enclosed is a limited issue brochure which I think you will find unique and interesting. It presents a better idea of the conception of what the Institute and School should be than has been set forth before. It will, however, undoubtedly undergo several more revisions and changes before it is satisfactory to all of us, and I would therefore very much appreciate your comments, evaluations and criticisms of this edition.

I hope to send you fuller and more complete reports as we develop our concepts and program in the next months and also look forward to sitting down with you to talk over the progress which is being made and plans for the future.

As ever,

Robert

Robert W. Gilmore

RWG:ct

Enclosure

A Program of the New York Friends Group Inc.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., SCHOOL OF SOCIAL CHANGE
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA 19013

DEVELOPMENT OFFICE
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., SCHOOL OF SOCIAL CHANGE
CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA 19013

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA
425 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE · CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60611

Executive Offices

June 23, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street Room 301
New York, New York 10027

Dear Phil:

As you may know, I joined the Britannica organization earlier this year, and am now serving as the Chairman of the Board of Consultants of Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, as well as on the Board of Directors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

One of the great pleasures of this new association has been the opportunity to refresh myself with the wealth of valuable material which the Britannica corporations produce each year.

One such product is the Encyclopaedia Britannica Book of the Year, a copy of which I have asked to be sent on to you with my compliments. The character of the 1969 volume is demonstrated by its lead article -- a book length review by former President Johnson of his years in the White House. I commend it to you.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Hubert H Humphrey

Hubert H. Humphrey

A. Philip Randolph Institute

509 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605
(312) 427-2792

A. Philip Randolph
President

Robert W. Gilmore
Treasurer

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

Norman Hill
Associate Director

Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director

National Advisory Board
Dorothy Height
John Lewis
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Isaiah Minkoff
Rev. Gregory Mooney
John Morsell
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Frederick O'Neal
Rabbi Joachim Prinz
L. D. Reddick
Albert Shanker
Donald P. Slaiman
Gus Tyler
C. Vann Woodward
Andrew Young

Staff
Rachelle Horowitz
Administrative Secretary

Emma Thomas
Office Manager

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September 23, 1969

A. Philip Randolph
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Randolph:

Just a line to let you know that I have asked Irwin Klass, editor of the Chicago Federation News, to put you on their mailing list. He is one of your great admirers and will be most happy to have you as one of their constant readers.

I am glad that you found the article worthwhile. There is so much inconsistent history and superficial intelligence today that it sometimes requires courage to remind the sudden experts that they are standing on the shoulders of those who created the climate in which they now so expertly function.

Jim was so glad to be remembered by you. He is a busy man these days as he is a candidate for the rewriting of the constitution of the State of Illinois. The last attempt at a new constitution for this state was in 1927. Only

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two Negroes were on the delegation and when the constitution was submitted to the voters, as you know, it was rejected. We hope for better luck this time.

All best wishes until we meet again.

Most sincerely,

Maida

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp

jp:MSK

October 23, 1969

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Maida:

I want to thank you for asking Irwin Klass, editor of the Chicago Federation News, to place me on the mailing list. I received my first copy a few days ago. I find the paper immensely interesting and the most newsworthy of all labor publications.

It was a great pleasure to see you at the AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City. Our new black militants need to see the black leaders of labor who have built the foundation upon whey they must stand. You represent much in basic labor education which our new brothers in the labor movement need.

I want to wish victory for Brother Kemp in his candidacy for the responsibility of rewriting the constitution of the State of Illinois. He will bring to this task a sense of the needs and mission of black and white labor which our government constitutions greatly need.

Cordially and fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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November 13, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Chief:

I hope this memorandum finds you well and busy with the tasks that interest you.

Shortly after this small office was opened, I discussed with you a Chicago project "Profiles of Negro Labor Leaders in Chicago." You gave this project your unstinting approval. Within the next 10 to 12 days we will submit working drafts to the printer and we shall need a statement of introduction from you about these biographical sketches of Black men and women who have pioneered for the cause of economic and social justice in Chicago. The unions which are the subject of this first profile are:

1) The Musicians, whose charter goes back to 1902. This union was a true example of being their brothers' keeper.
2) The National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. Their unions' national charter goes back to 1913, their Chicago charter to 1926. Their leaders have been most knowledgeable on legislation and legislators.

3) The Hotel and Bartenders' Union, their charter goes back to 1925. As a child, I had listened to adults speak of the Palmer House as the quality job in Chicago, now I learn that the Palmer House and the Sherman House were the only Loop Hotels which employed Negroes.

4) The Longshoremen's Union, Local 19, with a charter going back to 1907, but it was then an all White union and since 1954 an almost entirely Black union. The young president of the union, Harrison Tyler, is now the 8th Negro Vice-President of the International Longshoremens' Association.

5) Local 547 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcherworkmen of North America, their charter dating back to the early 30's. They won their fight for a Master Agreement, giving equal pay to all Butchers throughout Chicago.

6) Barbers and Beauticians Union, chartered in 1946. Chicago's Negro Barbers are the most highly organized in the country.

7) Building Service, Local 189, Jim's union, chartered in 1946. They are among the best paid janitors and maintenance workers in the country.

8) United Transport Service Employees, chartered in the mid-30's. Among the most able men in

the National and Internation Labor Movement and the government, many have been former officers of U.T.S.E.

9) The Chicago Branch of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (with which I am told you are reasonably familiar) and which in my view is not a Labor Union but a way of life.

The common denominator in these profiles are the uncommon men who organized these unions. For me, the learning process has been taxing for the reason that much of this history can only be researched by interviews with men and women who participated in the early struggles. I doubt that I shall be able to do justice to this rich history in the tiny stories which we are attempting to do. However, the fact that this beginning is under the sponsorship of the A. Philip Randolph Institute will, I know, create sufficient interest for a broader and more in depth study of the Negroes' contribution to the world of Labor.

Dr. Caroline Ware, one of the authors of the Twentieth Century History of Mankind, Volume 6, UNESCO, felt so keenly about this effort that she contributed $ 2,500.00 to the Institute's Education Fund for this pilot project. She has done the summary for this first set of Chicago Profiles.

I am enclosing the text of her summary as well as the profile of the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood for your comments and additions of pertinent facts. I have submitted the text to Brother Shackelford and Brother Crawford and enclose Brother Shackelfords' comments.

Among the omissions in the general sketch of the Brotherhood is a paragraph on Canadian leadership and inclusion of men like Brothers Bowe and McLaurin. I would appreciate your suggestions for these inclusions.

I shall be in New York for the board meeting on the 20th and look forward to seeing you.

Most sincerely,

Maida

Maida

jp:MSK
Enc.

P.S. I am so glad that you have agreed to accept the Catholic Interracial Council's award. The added bonus is that we shall have the pleasure of welcoming you to the Midwest Office. Many, Many Trade Union colleagues will have the opportunity to greet you, on Thursday, December 11, between the hours of 5:00 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. This makes me so happy.

November 20, 1969

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Maida:

I want to thank you for your letter of November 13, with enclosures, concerning black trade unionists in Chicago and their work to build trade unions to fight for decent wages and working conditions.

Your profile of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is remarkably well done and extremely interesting.

I am enclosing a short preface as you suggested. If there are any changes you wish to make, please feel free to to do.

May I say that I am looking forward to participating in the official opening of the Midwest Branch of the Institute.

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Salutations, and forward to our devoted and stalwart black trade union leaders in the struggle for more and better jobs.

It is a challenging and outstanding historical truth that a revolt of the oppressed against their oppressors is ever inevitable. This is the causal motivation of the existing black revolution against American white racism; it was the stimulation of the American Revolution of 1776 against British rule; the Civil War revolution of the 1860's against chattel slavery, and every revolution in the history of man.

Congratulations upon the living, unforgettable and interesting sketches of black workers building xxxx labor unions to fight for better jobs, racial and social justice.

I am deeply grateful to you and my good friend and brother, James Kemp, an experienced and able trade unionist, for the great job you are doing to give the apprenticeship training movement for black youth an effective and promising start and future in the great city of Chicago, the most outstanding center of trade unions for black, Puerto Rican and white workers in America.

From the desk of . . . MAIDA KEMP

December 3, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
c/o A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Brother Randolph:

The enclosed is for your information.

Cordially

Maida

Maida

MSK/jp

Enc.

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
509 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

December 3, 1969

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

I hope to see you on Wednesday and Thursday, December 10 - 11. The arrangements for Thursday are as follows:

Our program will be held in the building. Our neighbors, Local 25 of the Chicago Theatre & Amusement Building Janitors Union are permitting us to use their unused former health fund department. They are pleasant rooms, and we will Christmas decorate a bit. We will have chairs for about 100 people so that it won't be uncomfortable. We will serve drinks, etc from 5 p.m. - 6 p.m. and our office on the third floor maybe visited during the two hour program.

The Chicago Federation of Labor has accepted our invitation and Bill Lee, the president, read our communication last evening. In his remarks he indicated it wan an honor to be present for this trade union gathering of one of Labor's greats, and that he intends to be there and urges all members of the Federation to be present.

We will be sending out invitations in today's post to trade unionists and community personalities; all of the Negro press, The Sun-Times, Tribune, and Chicago Today. Louis Martin has been alerted and John Johnson, hopefully, they may do something special.

Our intention is to keep the arrangements informal and so the enclosed note is in the form of an announcement. We expect between 125 - 150 people to be present.

If the good fairy's smile on us, it will be possible to present each guest at the opening with a copy of the profiles of "Negro Labor Leaders in Chicago". As I write this letter to you, the printer has delivered a portion of the text for proofreading.

Most sincerely,

Maida

MSK/jp
Enc.

Our intention is to keep the arrangements informal and so the enclosed note is in the form of an announcement. We expect between 125 - 150 people to be present.

If the good fairy's smile on us, it will be possible to present each guest at the opening with a copy of the profiles of "Negro Labor Leaders in Chicago". As I write this letter to you, the printer has delivered a portion of the text for proofreading.

Most sincerely,

Maida

MSK/jp
Enc.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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Administrative Secretary

Emma Thomas
Office Manager

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December 3, 1969

We are pleased to announce that Brother A. Philip Randolph will be in the Midwest Office from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. on Thursday, December 11.

On this occasion Brother Randolph will address us, and I know that you would want to join with other Chicagoans to greet our great champion for Brotherhood and economic justice.

RECEPTION 5 p.m. - 6 p.m.
509 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE
ROOM 502

R.S.V.P. 427 - 2793

December 30, 1969

Dear Maida:

Let me congratulate you upon the beautiful affair you had at the A. Philip Randolph Institute. It was a wonderful meeting which was a tribute to your fine and lovely personality and gift of organization.

There were a lot of my old friends present and I had a joyous time.

I enjoyed seeing you and Jim together for you make a grand team, both of whom have made significant contributions to the cause of organized labor.

I want to thank you immensely for the splendid album you sent me of photographs taken at the meeting. As for the booklet on the personalities of Chicago union labor, I think it is extremely well done.

I am so proud of you and the great work you are doing for the cause of black and white labor and racial and social justice.

Affectionately,

/s/ Chief

A. Philip Randolph

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

MRS. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
234 Sunset Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Telephoned - 1/13/69
Will be glad to serve.

January 6, 1969

Mr. A. Phillip Randolph
A. Phillip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am writing to you on my own behalf and that of my husband's family about a matter which is of urgent personal concern to me, but which certainly has profound national and international implications as well.

We have recently decided to establish here in Atlanta the Martin Luther King Memorial Center as a significant and fitting context for carrying on the work and the concerns of my late husband, supplementing the efforts of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other agencies and organizations. As we considered persons who might serve as trustees of that Center, your name came very quickly to mind. This letter is now a formal request for you to serve in that capacity. Would you be willing to do that? If you can accept, your term of office will be two years initially.

You will soon receive material describing the Center as we have conceived it, but this much can be said now:

> It will be developed in two locations. Ebenezer Church and my husband's birthplace on Auburn Avenue will form the natural boundaries of a park area which will also include his permanent entombment and a Freedom Hall--a museum presenting vivid audio-visual evocations of the Freedom Movement. We also expect to initiate significant programs of social action in realms where my husband's efforts were primarily concerned--nonviolence, peace and brotherhood.
>
> In the Atlanta University Center community, there will be an Institute for Non-Violent Social Change, an Institute for Afro-American Studies, a Museum of Afro-American Life and Culture and a Library. The Library Project has already been initiated as a documentation center for the Movement; and will include the papers of my husband as well as other civil rights leaders and others who have made important contributions to the Civil Rights Movement.

We recognize the magnitude of our plans, and the level of funding required for them, but we believe that the plans are faithful to the magnitude of Martin King's dreams, and I certainly hope that you will be able to help us fulfill them.

On January 15, 1969, it is our intention to make a public announcement of this Project and the names of the trustees who have accepted. This date was selected as it would have been the fortieth birthday of my husband. I look forward to a response from you at your earliest convenience. I would appreciate your reply by January 10, either by telegram or telephone, 404-522-2350.

Sincerely,

Coretta Scott King

Coretta Scott King

js

November 17, 1969

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
234 Sunset Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. King:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great appreciation on receiving a copy of your book on your life with Dr. Martin Luther King.

It is brilliantly and touchingly done. I shall treasure it for its priceless value, with its memories of a great man and a fine friend.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Co-Chairmen of the Center
Coretta Scott King
Benjamin Mays

Board of Directors
Ralph Abernathy
Edythe Bagley
Harry Belafonte
Randolph Blackwell
Christine Farris
Walter Fauntroy
Vincent Harding
A. D. King
Alberta King
Coretta Scott King
Martin Luther King, Sr.
Stanley Levison
Dora McDonald
John Maguire
A. E. Manley
Benjamin Mays
Councill Taylor
Harry Wachtel
Andrew Young

THE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. MEMORIAL CENTER

671 Beckwith Street S.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30314 (404) 524-1956

December 5, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
217 West 125th
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph,

This letter is really the bearer of two essential messages we wanted to communicate to you.

The first is a long overdue but still sincere word of thanks for your willingness to serve on the Board of Trustees of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center. Your willingness to do this means a great deal to us. Indeed our own constant involvement in the work of shaping the Center is part of the reason why a letter of acknowledgement has taken so long to come.

Now it comes not only to thank you, but to invite you to the first Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Center. We have scheduled the meeting for the evening of February 3 and the day of February 4, planning to complete our work by 4 P.M. on February 4. Both of us are very eager to have you come to Atlanta and learn of how things have progressed so far, but more importantly to add your wisdom and strength to the shaping of the Center's future.

The enclosed post-card will tell us of your intentions. We hope it brings a message of your ability to attend, for we need your help.

Meanwhile the enclosed documents offer a summary of the Center's work and hopes. We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Coretta Scott King jm

Coretta Scott King
President

Benjamin Mays jm

Benjamin Mays
Chairman of the Board of Trustees

CSK/jm

western union **Telegram**

(22)CTB187

C BTY013 BTZ1 BTZ1 HC GOVT PDB 10 EXTRA BT WASHINGTON DC 22

NFT

1969 DEC 22 PM 6 10

A PHILLIP RANDOLPH
260 PARK AVE SOUTH NEW YORK NY

COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS WISHES YOU TO BECOME AN HONORARY CHAIRMAN ON THE OCCASION OF A TESTIMONIAL LUNCHEON IN HONOR OF CONGRESSMAN ADAM C POWELL ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1970 AT THE AMERICANA HOTEL IN NEW YORK CITY -- 7TH AVENUE AT 52ND STREET -- 12:00 NOON AND TO BRING GREETINGS. PLEASE REPLY:

THE REVEREND DAVID LOCORISH GENERAL CHAIRMAN 132 W 138TH STREET NEW YORK CITY (212) AU 6-2626.

31 1970 7TH 52ND 12:00 132 138TH 212 6-2626..

April 17, 1969

Macrae Smith Company
225 South 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Sir:

May I say that I have had the pleasure of reading Build Brother Build, by the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan, dealing with the problem of overcoming poverty through the building of economic power.

I consider this book a fine, stimulating and sound discussion of the economic problem of the Negro. The significant element of the book is that it is a fruitful, instructive and practical discussion of a question which Rev. Sullivan is demonstrating daily through Opportunities Industrialization Centers which he is establishing in cities throughout the country.

This movement will serve as an inspiration of priceless value to the young Negro.

I have known Leon Sullivan a long time. He was one of the leaders in the March on Washington of the 1940's which resulted in the issuance of Executive Order 8802 by President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

I commend this treatise to not only black Americans, but our white brothers and sisters also.

Very truly yours,

A. Philip Randolph

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1969 APR 29 PM 10 29

UDB158 (29)(00)BE557
B UDA347 (NN GPA073 (CT SHY202) SHZ1 SHZ11) PD SH WASHINGTON
DC 291 A PHILIP RANDOLPH AKL CIO VP
200 PARK AVE SOUTH NYK

FOLLOWING THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL WITH PRESIDENTQ NIXONKON MAY 5 HAVE ARRANGED FOR COUNCIL TO HAVE LUNCHPAN AMERICAN ROOM STATLER HILTON HOTEL

GEROGE MEANY PRESIDENT AFL CIO

SF1201(R2-65)

August 12, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
AFL-CIO Vice President
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Phil:

The attached is for your information.

Sincerely and fraternally,

President

attachment

from the desk of
GEORGE MEANY

17

western union **Telegram**

20 PM 9 14

MSA178 (14)NNA075
(NY 232NN401075)PD WU PRESS WSH 0606P EDT08/20/69
ZCZC 275 GL PDB 1 EXTRA WASHINGTON DC 20 440P EDT
A PHILIP RANDOLPH VICE PRESIDENT
AFL CIO 260 PARK AVE SOUTH 6TH FLOOR NYK
BT

I STRONGLY URGE APPROVAL OF DONATION OF $25,000 TO ARC TO AID THE VICTIMS OF THE GULF STATES AS A RESULT OF THE TREMENDOUS DEVASTATION CAUSED BY HURRICANE CAMILLE. IT IS MY FEELING THE THE AFL-CIO SHOULD SUBSTANTIALLY AID IN THIS HUMANITARIAN CAUSE

GEORGE MEANY PRESIDENT AFL CIO
$25,000 ARC

NNNN(0608P EDT)

Approve $25,000 donation to aid hurricane victims in Gulf States
APR
8/22/69 letter

SF-1201 (R5-69)

September 1969

BIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES ON GEORGE MEANY

ARTICLES

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"George Meany is Elected to Succeed William Green." American Federationist: vol. 59, December 1952, pp. 24-5

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"George Meany." Encyclopedia Americana. vol. 18. New York, Americana, 1961, pp. 479

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April 25, 1969

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Permit me to express my great delight and pleasure to receive your congratulations upon the occasion of my eightieth birthday, and your warm and cordial expression of commendation about my life and work for the advancement of the cause of human freedom, democracy and justice.

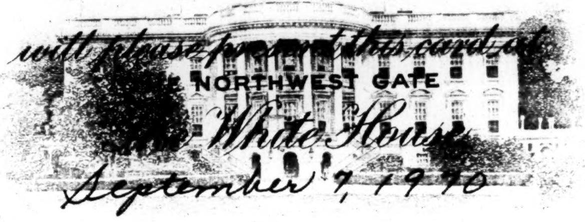
I want to congratulate you for the inspiration and promise of your administration of our great country.

Yours respectfully,

A. Philip Randolph

TC

Mr. A. Philip Randolph



will please present this card at
THE NORTHWEST GATE
The White House
September 7, 1940
at six o'clock

NOT TRANSFERABLE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1969

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In view of the growing concern about the rising cost of living, I would like to share with you at some length my thoughts about what is being done and what we must do to curb inflation.

The danger of inflation is real; the cure requires some unpleasant medicine, patience on the part of all and self-discipline by the government, business and labor.

This Administration is determined to control inflation without imposing controls upon the economy.

Four great forces make up the free market: government, business, labor and the consumer. A government that tolerated huge budget deficits could not fairly heap the blame for the ravages of inflation onto any of the other market forces. It was past government policy that caused our present inflation.

That is why I have refused to look for a scapegoat amid the genuine national concern about the rising cost of living.

That is why I have insisted government put its own economic house in order before enlisting other forces in the fight against inflation.

Hard decisions had to be made to extend the surtax; to slash Federal spending by more than seven billion dollars a year; to drastically curtail construction commitments by the Federal government; to place a strong budget surplus in tandem with a restrictive monetary policy. Economic policy needed backbone rather than jawbone, and backbone is exactly what our record shows.

We have taken the unpopular road to earn back government's credibility in fiscal affairs, and by our actions we have shown that we mean what we say about cooling inflation.

Because of this record, everyone should realize that government will continue to do whatever is necessary in the future to curb the rising cost of living.

Because government's house is now in order, we can turn to business and labor to remind them that inflation is everybody's problem and fighting inflation is everybody's business.

It is in the interest of private business to consider pricing policies in the light of government's determination to check inflation. The business that commits errors in pricing on the up side, expecting to be bailed out by inflation, is going to find itself in a poor competitive position. Betting on ever-higher prices is a sure way of losing.

It is in the interest of every union leader and workingman to avoid wage demands that will reduce the purchasing power of his dollar and reduce the number of job opportunities.

Government has set the example of restraint, and will continue to set that example. When we combine labor restraint and business restraint, we can build a foundation for an on-going prosperity.

In curbing inflation, we must continue to move deliberately, with a careful eye on the unemployment picture. The percentage of our work force unemployed is more than a statistic -- it is a human condition that deserves the close attention of every American.

New laws and new restrictions are not required, if we treat with respect the law of supply and demand. Government's recent action in the construction industry, to increase the supply of skilled labor and materials so as to curb the excessive expansion of demand, is a case in point.

Because we add no artificial controls does not mean that there are no controls in operation. The free market has its own controls on those who flout responsibility: loss of profits to the businessman, loss of jobs to the workingman. These are losses that responsible action can avert.

A sense of responsibility must be part of every prudent judgment concerning prices and wages, now that government has repudiated the previous inflationary policies. Price and wage decisions that anticipate inflation's continuing at or near present levels would be shortsighted, imprudent, and unprofitable.

For your own planning, the policy of this Administration in the fight against inflation will be:

First, to continue stern restraints on Federal spending.

Second, to insist on a tax system that has the capacity to generate enough revenues to cover spending outlays. I shall not tolerate, for example, a tax bill that would result in an irresponsible budget.

Third, to rely strongly on the forces of reason and moderation within the private economy, so that governmental intervention will rarely be necessary.

The ultimate consequences of runaway inflation -- the bust that follows, with the suffering that accompanies huge unemployment -- must never again be inflicted upon the American people. Instead, we will take every measure necessary to build a sound prosperity, temporarily unpopular as some restraints may be.

I would be interested in your own views as to how the private sector and government can work together in holding down the cost of living. In this cause -- hard to explain, hard to achieve, but fundamental to the economy of our nation and the progress of our people -- I trust that I can count on your support.

Sincerely,

Richard Nixon

Mr. A. P. Randolph
AFL-CIO Executive Council
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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A PHILIP RANDOLPH,DONT DWR
PRESIDENT EMERITUS
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR POTERS 260 PARK AVE SOUTH P/TH FLOOR NYK

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO INVITE YOU TO A MEETING ON OCTOBER 29TH AT 9:45 A.M. IN THE CABINET ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE. IF YOU WILL COME TO THE SOUTHWEST GATE OF THE WHITE HOUSE AT 9:30 THIS TELEGRAM WILL ADMIT YOU TO THE MEETING.

SINCERELY

STEPHEN BULL.

29TH 9:45 A.M. 9:30.

SF1201(R2-65)

THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the CITY of NEW YORK
475 Riverside Drive • Suite 456 • New York, N. Y. 10027 • RI 9-1214

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Executive Director

April 17, 1969

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, President
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
217 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Randolph:

I am now in my fourth year as President of an organization which is doing a significant job of service for the city of New York, the Protestant Council. It is an organization with which I have been associated for many years and I am proud to occupy the post of president, since the Council is a meaningful and worthwhile organiltion. The Program of the Council are vast and they serve the secular community, as well as the church community.

I write today to ask if you would be kind enough to grant an interview to Mr. Robert J. Dugan of the Council staff. His visit will be for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of your counsel concerning broader community participation in the Council's work and program. He will not ask for money. I shall be most grateful if you will see Mr. Dugan. To save your time, he will call soon for an appointment.

With best wishes and appreciation.

Norman Vincent Peale
Norman Vincent Peale

THE HEART OF OUR PROGRAM IS SERVICE TO PEOPLE,
THE HEART OF THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL IS PEOPLE.

May 1, 1969

Rev. Norman Vincent Peale
President, The Protestant Council
 of the City of New York
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Dr. Peale:

Just a word to say in reply to your letter of April 17 that I will be glad to have a chat with Mr. Robert Dugan of the Council staff at a convenient time.

May I say that I have retired from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and I am not active in anything because of health reasons. May I add that there has been no work I have participated in which I enjoyed with greater pleasure than the Protestant Council of the City of New York, and my association with you and the other splendid personalities of this great movement.

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

P. O. Box 544,

Nassau, N. P. Bahamas.

May 20.69.

Dear friend A. Phillip Randolph,

I have just got the news in a paper from New York giving information in connection with the celebration by you of your eightieth birthday. How wonderful, and please let me convey to you on behalf of Mrs. Reeves and I., our highest congratulations although a bit late. So funny only a few days ago. I was talking about you to our Labour leader here the Hon. Randal Fawkes whom I had a few years introduced to you by letter when he was organizing for the first time in Bahamian history a Labour Organization here, and which has now grown to be a most powerful body out here.

Looking back over the years I could well remember when meeting both you and Chandler Owens for the first time in 1915 if I remember rightly. And was a sort of travelling agent for your magazine called the "Messenger." I was then quite a lad of 18 years. Many, many, things have taken place since then havent ~~(it~~ they?. Listen, my old and dear friend have you ever had printed a book of your Autobiography? If so, please tell me just where I can purchase a copy. I have now retired from service with the Bahamas Government and have received the Queens Gold Medal for out-standing work in the Service and the Community. At present I am en-

P.T.O.

now carrying on a little Real estate business. Hope to come to New York this summer when I shall be happy to call by and say a big hello to you. Again congratulating you and with best wishes ,

I am,

Sincerely your old and faithful friend,

Cleveland H. Reeves.

Cleveland H. Reeves. J. P. E. A. A. & A.

English Association of Accountants & Auditors.

June 24, 1969

Mr. Cleveland H. Reeves, J.P. E.A.A. & A.
Post Office Box 544
Nassau, N. P. Bahamas

Dear Friend Cleveland:

Just a word to thank you for your kind letter expressing congratulations upon the celebration of my 80th birthday.

I want to congratulate you too on the great work you have done and are doing for the cause of our black race.

I probably will be coming to the Bahamas for a little vacation in a few months hence, with my good friend, William Bowe, who is the International Secretary Treasurer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

September 16, 1969

Mrs. Dollie Robinson, Director
A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Dollie:

I was greatly elated and happy to note your presence in a recent issue of the New York Times.

The interview was well done and, aside from the subject matter, it was a pleasure to see your beautiful self in the news.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

October 23, 1969

My dear beautiful Dollie:

Just a word of remembrance and to express my great delight and pleasure at travelling back to New York from Atlantic City with you in your car. I did not only enjoy the ride through the country when the foliage was radiant with its multicolors, but I immensely enjoyed our discussion about the politics of the needle trade labor unions.

You are as knowledgeable, if not more so, of the personalities in these unions as I am, and your word pictures of their behavior patterns were intriguing.

I have known all of the leaders of the needle trades for a long, long time but never had an opportunity to discuss them, in the spectrum of their organizational tactics and strategy, with anyone who knew more about them than I did. We never got to Joseph Schlossberg, the secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with whom I had a greater spiritual rapport than with anyone else, except Sasha.

Sometime we will explore other areas of that unique and creative group of labor leaders. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why you wanted me to attend the party given by Mrs. Hillman - or was it?

Cordially,

A. Philip Randolph

Mrs. Dollie Lowther Robinson
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

P.O. Box 133, Colonial Park Station
New York, New York 10039

A. Philip Randolph Leaders of Tomorrow
Scholarship Fund, Inc.
Headquarters: 103 East 125th Street - Suite 710
New York, N. Y. 10035
Telephone: 427-3376

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9/8/69

Dear Officers and Members:

"In an arch, each single stone, which, if severed from the rest would perhaps be defenceless". The organization is one stone of solidity.

Our fall program, Colleges selected for our annual awards, Election of Officers, Tax Exempt Status and other important matter of the organization require your views and attendance in our regular monthly meeting; Sunday, September 14, 1969 at 2:00 P.M. sharp. Meeting will be held at the Y. W. C. A., 361 West 125th Street, Suite 411, N.Y.C.

We are looking forward to greeting you with renewed fellowship.

Brother C. C. Gales, our Treasurer, and one of the founders of the organization has been a patient in the Polyclinic Hospital for several weeks. He is in Room 823. The hospital is on 50th Street, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues. Visiting hours are from 2:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M.

Mrs. Elizabeth McIntosh, Recording Secretary, has been indisposed and now reciprocating at home, at 850 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

Let grace and goodness be the principal of thy affections, by visiting the sick in fellowship.

Respectfully yours,

James E. Smith, Chairman
James E. Smith, Chairman

JES:jg

The Norman Thomas Fund

June 5, 1969

Room 1105
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 254-5641

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Albert Shanker
Donald Slaiman
Irwin Suall
Harold Taylor
Rowland Watts
Max Wohl
Jerry Wurf

(Still in formation)

Miss Bernice Wilds
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10003

Dear Bernice,

Bayard said that Mr. Randolph would sign the enclosed letter on behalf of a direct mail campaign we are about to launch. He suggested that I send you a copy of it for your files.

How is everything?

Best regards,

Joan

Joan Suall

JS/j
enclosure
opeiu 153

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

The Norman Thomas Fund

Room 1105
112 East 19th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003
(212) 254-5641

Michael Harrington

Charles Bloomstein

Tom Kahn
Penn Kemble

Max Delson

Board of Directors

Dear Friend:

As one who was closely associated with Norman Thomas for half a century, it is difficult to conceive of a world without him. Yet he left a priceless heritage -- in the countless minds and hearts which he influenced. There are so very many "children" of Norman Thomas who have more than a memory of him -- they feel an obligation to meet the challenges of today as he met each challenge throughout his own life.

The freedoms for which Norman Thomas fought have yet to become realities for far too many Americans. Racial discrimination continues to plague our society like a pervasive cancer. Perhaps thirty million Americans, including the majority of our Negro, Mexican-American, Indian and Puerto Rican citizens, subsist at shameful poverty levels. The apostles of hate and bigotry have taken a new lease on life. In despair, many young blacks have turned their backs on the only true salvation -- an integrated America where each man and woman is judged on his own merits.

These injustices define for us the many causes still calling us to battle and the many battles yet to be won. Were Norman Thomas still with us, there is no doubt he would be fighting with every ounce of energy to rectify the wrongs our society has inflicted on its non-white minorities and its white poor as well.

He would also be devoting his boundless energy and thought to those of our young men and women -- black and white -- whose disenchantment with the "System" has led them down the path of anarchy and violence. In Norman's image, we seek then to instill in our young Americans an appreciation of and dedication to the democratic means that are vital to attain meaningful social change.

Through the tax-deductible Norman Thomas Fund, our tribute to this irreplaceable man is to encourage and educate a new generation of young people to complete his unfinished tasks. With your gift, we can perpetuate the name of our late, dear friend in the manner he would have wanted -- not in cold stone but in the living, human struggle to make the world a more decent place for all mankind. I appeal to you to contribute as generously as you can.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

June 16, 1969

The Reverend Leon H. Sullivan
Zion Baptist Church
Broad and Venango Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Leon:

I am indeed greatly gratified to hear of the continued, constructive progress you are making in the development of industrial opportunities for black youth. The fact that your movement is preparing young Negroes to help themselves with various skills, so as to become useful and productive members of the community, is a great contribution to the solution of the crisis of American cities today.

I am also pleased with the fact that not only are the black boys and girls being prepared to become important and valuable members of our industrial society, but they will also get the benefit of the basic and necessary moral influence of depending upon their own initiative and productability for their living instead of resorting to violence and anti-social methods.

It is my earnest hope that your request for adequate Federal Government funding for Opportunities Industrialization Centers will meet favorable response.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

ASA PHILIP RANDOLPH GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE A-W 1970

western union

Telegram

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1970 MAY 19 AM 10 55

#(A LLY257) NJ PDB FAX ALANTA MAY 18 NFT.:

=A PHILIP RANDOLP.=
(BON126) 260P PARK AVE SOUTHNYK.=

:I ENCOURAGE YOU TO JOIN THE SCLC SATURDAY, MAY 23RD, 10:38 .=AM, IN A WITNESS AGAINST POLICAL INTIMIDATION AND INCREASED .=REPRESSION. IT IS IMPERATIVE THA WE ACT NOW. CONTACT: STONEY .=
COOKS OR FRANCES BASCOM AT (404) 522-1420 CONCERNING ARRANGEMENTS. .=ASSEMBLY POINT: EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH.=

RALPH DAVIE ABERNTHY PRESIDENT.=

(726).

WU 1201 (R 5-69)

VIETNAM MORATORIUM COMMITTEE
SUITE 806, 1029 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005
202/347-4757

January 7, 1970

Dear Mr. Randolph,

We at the Vietnam Moratorium wanted you to know that your letter came to our attention too late to participate in the December 14th New York Times ad.

We are sorry that this happened and hope you understand why you didn't hear from us.

Sincerely,

Vietnam Moratorium Committee

Sam Brown

January 30, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

The enclosed clipping from the Press-Scimitar, Memphis' daily evening newspaper, issue of January 1, 1970, is self-explanatory, and since you were a friend of my father I thought you might like to know about this recognition.

As usual, my Aunt and I spent the Christmas holidays in Memphis , and an extended vacation there, but we did not know that the Sesquicentennial Commission planned anything like this, so the news came as an unexpected surprise.

I hope you spend a very happy and successful 1970.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

~~(Miss) Roberta Church~~
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D. C. 20009

MEMPHIS PRESS-SCIMITAR, THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1970

South's First Negro Millionaire Honored

Memphis Sesquicentennial, Inc., today announced it will honor the South's first black millionaire in addition to the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, who lived in Memphis after the War Between the States.

The organization will give $1,235 for a bronze plaque memorializing Robert R. Church Sr., and Jr., black men who helped shape Memphis history. The plaque will be in the new community center in Church Park at Beale and Fourth.

The Sesqui will spend $750 for permanent lighting of the Jefferson Davis statue in Confederate Park.

At City Hall yesterday, a coffee was given at which official notice was given to Annette Church, daughter of Robert Church Sr., and Roberta Church, daughter of Robert Church Jr., of the plaque. The Misses Church live in Washington but maintain Memphis as their voting residence. Roberta Church is with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington. Mayor Loeb, Memphis Housing Authority and Sesqui officials attended the coffee party.

Howard Willey, Sesqui president, said "that we should honor the only president of the Confederacy and the South's first black millionaire is indicative of the scope of our 150th birthday celebration. From the beginning, we have made a special effort to involve not only the black and white communities but also every segment of the community. In turn, we think that the response we have had from so many groups and individuals has been one of the great things to come out of the Sesquicentennial year.

"Sesquicentennial provided a vehicle that brought the entire community together in a cooperative effort. This was one of our anniversary year's greatest successes."

MHA has bought Church Park from the Park Commission. The old Church auditorium will be razed, the park will be reshaped and redeveloped and sold back to the Park Commission and a new community center built. The plaque, with busts of the Churches and biographical sketches, will be put in the center.

The elder Church was born in 1839 and died in 1912. He became wealthy in real estate and other activities and was a philathropist. As a result of six disastrous yellow fever epidemics, Memphis lost its city charter in 1879 and was declared a taxing district. Church helped pave the way to recovery and restoration of the charter in 1893. He was the first citizen to buy a taxing district bond to help pay the city debt. His payment of $1,000 for the first bond stimulated sales that led to paying off the debt.

Later, Church gave six acres of land for the park at Beale and Fourth. On it he built the largest black-owned theater in the nation.

Robert R. Church Jr., born in 1885 and died in 1952, was a Memphis real estate operator and a Republican leader, attending several national GOP conventions as a delegate.

G
GORD
8 DINNER PLATES
8 SALAD
8 CUPS
8 SAUCE
8 SOUP BOWLS
MELAMINE
COMPLETE SERV
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DIAMOND MERCHAN
GORD
JEW

February 13, 1970

Dear Roberta:

I have your letter of January 30 enclosing clipping about your distinguished father and my great and devoted friend, Robert R. Church, Jr, and your equally distinguished grandfather, Robert Church, Sr.

You are justified in being proud of the honor paid them by the City of Memphis through the Sesquicentennial Commission.

When I am in Washington again, I will give you a ring.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Miss Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

May 2, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Rabdolph
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

In March I wrote and asked if you would be kind enough to write a paragraph or two concerning your recollections of my father, the late Robert R. Church Jr., to include in a manuscript I am preparing about him.

I mailed the letter the day the mail strike began in New York, and in the event you never received it, I am forwarding this note.

I know my father and you were friends for many years and that he was involved in various activities with you when you organized the Pullman Porters and other civil rights efforts over a period of years. I know that he held you in high esteem, and especially would like to include in the manuscript something you had to say about him.

With kindest presonal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D. C. 20009

May 6, 1970

Miss Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Dear Roberta:

I have your letters of March 17 and May 2, informing me of your plan to write a biography of your dear and distinguished father, Robert R. Church, Jr. I hope you will pardon my delay in replying to your earlier letter.

I am enclosing herewith a statement on my relationship with my dear friend Bob.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

Enclosure

Robert R. Church, Jr. was one of the distinguished, honored, and progressive Negro leaders of America. It was my great pleasure not only to have known him over a long period, but to have counted him a close and abiding friend.

Although he never held public office, there was no person of color in the country whose political wisdom was more highly cherished and sought after, by both black and white Republican leaders, than his. The basic reason for this was that he not only possessed a mind for careful evaluation of political personalities and forces, but he was impeccably honest and could not be influenced by money or political power.

He came from a family of wealth and distinction but he made no exhibition of this fact. To me, he was Bob, and to him, I was Phil. Although he knew that I was a Socialist and was critical of both the Democratic and Republican parties, he trusted my judgement even with respect to the expression of opinions about Republican leaders. He was immensely pleased over the fact that I was politically independent.

We spent hours in Washington and New York in his hotel room discussing problems of the Negro and methodology for the solution of same.

Bob was persona grata in the offices of Republican leaders of place and power. Because of his great influence, I asked him to help me reach some of the Republican political leaders for discussion of ways and means of getting a federal fair employment practice law on the statute books of the nation. I knew there was no other person of color in the country who could reach as many outstanding Republican spokesmen of power as he could.

This appealed to him, not only because he was conscious of the impoverishment of black workers and believed in the principle of fair employment practice, but he enjoyed sitting down with me and various political leaders to argue over the feasibility of my program.

The first Republican leader he and I engaged in a lengthy discussion of the timeliness, feasibility and necessity of federal fair employment legislation was Senator Robert Taft. Of course, while Senator Taft was a Republican and Bob Church was on as friendly terms with him as he was with me, both of them were hard-hitting men who were unswervable for any reason except their own convictions.

We never could come to any point of agreement with Senator Taft by way of getting him to sponsor such a bill. In fact, he indicated that he would have to give the question considerable thought because his mind was not yet made up with respect to its political value and feasibility. But he had the utmost faith and confidence in Bob Church and, therefore, assured us that he would spare no pains in studying the matter in depth.

Needless to say, Bob was not satisfied with this position of Senator Taft. But he respected the senator and constantly assured me of the fact that Taft was one of the few men in the Senate, or any other part of government, who was not subject to influence by political pressure. We were never able to get the senator to agree to sponsor such a bill. It is quite possible, however, that if a federal fair employment practice b ill had been introduced in the Senate that he would not have opposed it.

Being appreciative of the entree that Bob Church had in the councils of Republican leaders, in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, I was able to prevail upon him to assume the responsibility of serving as the representative of our fair employment practice movement on the Hill for the purpose of contacting both Republicans and Democrats to inform them of the purpose and importance of this legislation.

Bob gave up a considerable amount of his time from day to day, carrying on an educational contact program with various leaders of government. He made great headway but, of course, this was a long and arduous fight because it involved broad and basic economic factors.

When I established an office for our fair employment practice movement in Washington and engaged Mrs. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, a distinguished and brilliant leader of civil rights, to direct our movement, Bob Church agreed to assist her without any financial consideration whatsoever. In fact, it was an expense for him to give his time to the cause, but it was also a labor of love. Besides, he never said no to any request I made of him in the fight for civil rights.

As I observed this impressive personality during our numerous contacts, I could see that the soul of his life was his beautiful daughter Roberta.

May 10, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Ave. South
New York, N.Y. 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

Thank you so much for the very kind remarks you wrote about my father, the late Robert R. Church Jr. of Memphis. I know he would appreciate your recollections of him.

He held you in high esteem, and you and he agreed on many issues and the necessity to organize and push for equal employment opportunity long before it became so "fashionable" to become involved in this and other civil rights issues that would benefit the race.

My Aunt joins me in extending you kindest personal regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Roberta

(Miss) Roberta Church
1629 Columbia Road N. W. Apt. 200
Washington, D. C. 20009

Telegram – March 11, 1970

Hon. Lyndon Baines Johnson
Brooke General Hospital
San Antonio, Texas

All of us who are your dedicated friends were greatly distressed upon learning of your illness, ~~and which for you~~ We pray for your ~~immediate~~ complete recovery for you are truly a great American and sincere fighter for human rights.

A. Philip Randolph,

STONEWALL, TEXAS

Brooke General Hospital
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Phil:

Of all the men I worked with, none impressed me as more dedicated than you, and there are none whose friendship I treasure more. Your wire meant a great deal to me, Phil.

With my appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
2588 Seventh Avenue
New York, New York 10039

March 12, 1970

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Dear Philip:

Not many invitations come my way that I want to accept as badly as I wanted to accept yours. I've kept your letter close at hand, and I've done my best to try to work things out so I could join you for the dinner. Unfortunately, as I indicated to you on September 28, there was too much involved -- I'm sorry as I can be.

Enclosed is the message I promised. It is sent with my best wishes for the success of the dinner.

Sincerely,

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

October 27, 1970

A. Philip Randolph Institute

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Chicago, Illinois 60605
(312) 427-2792

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Emma Thomas
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240

April 2, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
290 Ninth Avenue
Apt. 5D
New York, New York

Dear Brother Randolph,

I am still so enthusiased about the A. Philip Randolph Institute's conference in Tennessee, which brought delegates from as far away as California, that I must repeat some of what you have already been told about the conference.

The more than 100 delegates in attendance, many of whom came at their own expense, came with the determination to work politically, educationally, and to stand up to be counted.

As trade unionists, the consensus of that meeting was that we don't deny what is wrong in the trade union movement, but challenge those who are misinformed and only speak in negative terms of the labor movement, which is the working man's greatest salvation. It was an inspiring and inspired occasion, and does your commitment and name proud.

All of us in the Institute, as you know, are busy now working for voter registration with COPE and community groups. I have an especially good working relationship downstate Illinois with the N.A.A.C.P. President of Branches. The young man who is the president, John Gwynn, has opened some doors for me within the church groups. We had a nice beginning campaign for the primary in Peoria. I go back to Peoria on the 13th of April to meet with the Ministerial Alliance in order to set up a permanent voter registration in each of the 16 churches which constitute the Peoria Alliance.

I am enclosing two comments on our little publication, Negro Pioneers in the Chicago Labor Movement, from the Vice-Mayor of Atlanta and the other from an Executive Board Member of the New Orleans American Federation of Musicians.

The Musicians are so pleased with this little pamphlet, despite its obvious goofs of unlisted pages, etc., that they are seralizing the nine essays in their house organ, Intermezzo.

I hope to be in New York sometime in mid-May and will call in the hope that you will let me come and visit for a few moments.

With deep affection, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Maida

Maida

jp
enc.
P. S. I am also enclosing George L-P Weaver's comments.

[illegible]
[illegible]
Jim

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THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

NEXT 3 COPIES

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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
AFFILIATED WITH THE A.F.L.-C.I.O.

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●

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Boynton Beach, Fla. 33435

WALTER M. MURDOCH
Canadian Executive Officer Emeritus
966 Royal York Road
Toronto 18, Ont., Canada

16 February, 1970

Mr. Leo Nye, Secretary
Local 10-208 A F of M
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Leo:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the booklet "Negro Pioneers in the Chicago Labor Movement". Of course, the first thing I turned to was page 11, as indexed, to read the great story of Local 208. However, finding that the pages were not numbered, I almost immediately spotted the Charter reproduction, and was "in".

The story is almost epic, and highly inspiring. The sacrifices these early unioneers went through to preserve their organization would hardly be made by many of us in this generation. We can only wonder at their dedication. This, however, should take no credit from those who followed behind them and built the framework and the treasury which made 208 so respected and powerful in our Federation.

We are all happy that some of these great men are still around to lend their counsel and wisdom when we need such in times of stress.

Forgive the delay in this acknowledgement: I was away for about 2 weeks with the I E B meetings, then have been nursing a great cold while trying to reduce the Mount Everest we laughingly call a desk in this business. Like yours?

I am sending a separate copy of this letter to Mr. Wm. Everett Samuels, but would appreciate your checking out with him, today's mails being what they are.

Looking forward to seeing you fairly soon in the Convention, and sending you my best wishes for the Season, I now take leave.

Fraternally,

David Winstein

David Winstein

MAYNARD HOLBROOK JACKSON
2920 Chevelle Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317
(404) 378-2420

January 22, 1970

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Kemp:

After hearing Jack Handler, my law partner, speak so favorably of you on so many different occasions, I took special pleasure in receiving from you your very thoughtful gift of Negro Pioneers in The Chicago Labor Movement. Thank you sincerely for that and your thoughtfulness.

I hope that I shall have the pleasure of meeting you some day soon.

Sincerely,

Maynard H. Jackson

Maynard H. Jackson

MHJ:ep

INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE
WASHINGTON BRANCH
666 ELEVENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

1919-1969

TELEPHONE: (202) 638-5656
CABLE: INTERLAB WASHINGTON
TELEX: 24513

George L-P Weaver
Special Assistant to the Director General

5 January, 1970

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash
Chicago, Ill. 60605

Dear Maida:

Many thanks for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the pamphlet "Negro Pioneers in the Chicago Labor Movement". I think this type of essay is long overdue. In fact, I would like to see several of them printed into book or booklet length during this period of rising awareness. I believe this kind of pamphlet could be duplicated and distributed in at least a dozen of our largest cities where the labor movement is of key importance and our contribution has been substantial.

Give me a ring the next time you are in Washington. Mary joins me in sending all our best to you and Jean.

Sincerely,

George L-P Weaver
Special Assistant to the
Director-General

GLPW/[illegible]

Established in 1919, the ILO is now a specialized agency of the United Nations, in which Government, Worker and Employer [illegible] of the world work toward peace through improved labor conditions and living standards.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

509 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605
(312) 427-2792

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Office Manager

240

May 25, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
290 Ninth Avenue
Apt. 5 D
New York, New York

Dear Chief:

This came in the morning mail and I forwarded it to the office but I thought I would send you this copy in the meantime.

I hope you are well and doing some of the many interesting things which you had looked forward to doing in this period of lessened responsibility.

Sincerely,

Maida

Maida

jp
enc.

TOM BELONGED TO US ALL

TOM MBOYA MEMORIAL FUND

Chairman, Daniel Arap Moi, E.G.H. E.B.S. M. P.

TRUSTEES:

The Hon. H. Slade, E. B. S. Mr. A. J. L. Okuku Mr. W. A. Onyango Ayoki P. O. Nyakiamo J. Malinda

SPONSORS:

The Hon. Daniel Arap Moi, E.G.H., M. P. Mr. W. A. Onyango Ayoki, Honorary Secretary., Mr. John Malinda, Honorary Treasurer., The Hon. J. S. Gichuru, E.G.H., M.P. Mr. J. Odero-Jowi, The Hon. B.R. McKenzie, E.G.H., M.P. Mr L.G. Sagini, E.G.H., Mr. S.O. Ayodo E.G.H., The Hon J. S. Osogo, E.G.H., M. P. The Hon. M. Kibaki, E.G.H. M.P. The Hon. R.G. Ngala E.G.H., M.P. The Hon. N. Mwendwa, E.G.H., M.P. Mr. A.J.L. Okuku., The Hon. H. Slade E.B.S., M.P. The Hon. E. Khasakhala, M.P. Mr. S. Odoyo, Dr. David Wasawo, The Hon. E. Bomett, M. P. Sir Derek Erskine, Sir Eboo Pirbhai, Mr. P K. Jani, Mr. J.D. Akumu, Mr. P. O. Nyakiamo, The Hon. M. Muliro, M.P. Mr. Mulchand Khimasia, Mr. Bashir Maulidad, Mr. A. J. Pandya, Mr. Hindocha, Mr. Okelo—Odongo, Dr. Mohamed Hyder, Mr. J. Wanjui, C. Malavu, Dr. F. R. S. D'souza.

P.O. Box 299,
NAIROBI,
Kenya.

Our Ref: ....

Your Ref: ....

Date, 20th May, 1970.

A. Phillip Randolph,
509 South Wabash,
Chicago,
ILLINOIS, 60605,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Randolph,

You have doubtless heard already of the establishment of the Tom Mboya Memorial Fund and may be wondering why it has taken so long to launch any strong appeal for contributions.

The fact is that we have had to spend some time in completing a proper Trust Deed, and setting up such accounting machinery as will ensure correct use of all contributions in accordance with that Deed. I am now writing to inform you that our campaign for contributions is underway and we are wondering whether it is possible, through you, to organize Tom's friends and well wishers in your country to assist us in the campaign.

The Sponsors of the Tom Mboya Memorial Fund, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency Hon. Daniel arap Moi, M.P., Vice-President of the Republic of Kenya, have approved the establishment of The Tom Mboya Institute for Labour and Industrial Studies.

The field of Labour and Industrial Relations has been chosen because the man we want to honour was a Statesman truly and firmly anchored in his humble concern for the workers in general and for the need to work for a positive contribution to the labour

/2....

movement and to national and international welfare. From the ranks of the workers through the dark days of pre-independent Kenya, he provided the country with a labour organization and machinery that will remain a major landmark in building the Kenya Nation.

Among his significant contributions to Kenya today, stands the most progressive labour legislation, the culmination of creative engagement in the international labour movement and the political arena in Kenya. This appeal is therefore to honour the dreams, ideals, and dedication of an international figure whose untimely death deprived Kenya, Africa and the rest of the world of the impact of his mature wisdom. It is being made to all those whose support and sympathy may promote the establishment of an Institute for Labour and Industrial Studies which, through research, would enable Kenya, Africa and the world to experience higher forms of industrial and labour relations required for the establishment of a democratic society for which Tom Mboya dedicated his life.

The appeal is for £1,000,000 for the development of the Institute, involved, when completed, in the development of research capacity in Kenya in the field of labour and industrial relations, the provision of further training facilities to selected labour leaders, the establishment of a forum for discourse between labour and management on matters of common and immediate concern, to the establishment of better working relations and to endow a memorial lecture to be delivered every year by a distinguished scholar and men who have made a fundamental contribution to better industrial and labour relations.

I paln to visit the States some time in June, and when I have all arrangements of my itinerary finalized, I will write giving details in the hope that you will spare me some of your time so that I may explain - and perhaps discuss - our proposal in greater detail.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

A. J. L. Okuku

AJLO/smc.

June 12, 1970

Mrs. Maida Springer Kemp
Midwest Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
509 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Maida:

I have your letter of May 25 enclosing communication concerning the Tom Mboya Memorial Fund.

I am glad to know that such a movement is afoot for Tom Mboya deserves to be remembered by Negroes and whites who are committed to human freedom and justice.

I will be glad to talk with Mr. Okuku when he visits this country.

Best regards to Jim.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

P.S. My correct address at home is

280 Ninth Avenue, Apt. 5B.

July 16, 1970

The Honorable John V. Lindsay
Mayor of the City of New York
City Hall
New York, New York 10007

Dear Mayor Lindsay:

Our organizations have been following with interest and dismay the efforts, now doomed, of Alexander's Department Store to open a new branch employing 700 people on the West Side of Manhattan. In the New York Times, on Friday, July 3, Murray Schumach, writing an explanation of some of the trends of the failure, quoted Miss Easter Johnson, who is employed by the Mid-West Community Corporation, an anti-poverty agency, as being unperturbed by the disappearance of 700 possible jobs with the change in Alexander's plans. "We want jobs that offer a career for people," Miss Johnson was described as saying, without suggesting where such openings exist.

We find that this explicitly and succinctly sets forth a philosophy toward work and poverty which is totally self-defeating. We believe that those who need work should be encouraged to accept employment in new, adequately financed commercial enterprises. We believe that the New York State Minimum Wage Law, and, perhaps, even more important, the many laws protecting the rights of workers to join unions, provide the mechanism by which jobs in thriving enterprises are turned into lifetime careers that can be pursued with dignity, personal satisfaction, and service to the common interest. We recognize sympathetically the terrible handicaps under which minority groups have long struggled. We do not believe, however, that the door of job opportunity should be arbitrarily closed to 700 people on the ground that no job is acceptable unless it offers the instant prestige and glamour of a "career." Moreover, it has always been true in America and it is true today that many great careers begin with jobs at the entry level.

Our organizations are, each in its own way, concerned with opening job opportunities in New York City, with developing its economic life, with increasing its tax base, with attracting new employers to the city or encouraging existing employers to expand their facilities. These objectives can literally be destroyed if New York gains a reputation as a city whose people do not wish to work, and whose administration believes that poverty can be eliminated without placing primary emphasis on work and economics.

We urge you to clarify the position of the City Administration--and most particularly the Manpower Commission--on the subject of jobs and their importance to the health of the city. We ask that you make clear that Miss Johnson was not speaking for your Administration in deprecating the significance of 700 jobs in a new retail establishment and, in this connection, we commend your assistant, Miss Ronnie Eldridge, who was quoted in the same New York Times report as being "outraged" by the defeat of the department store project.

The success of our efforts to open new work opportunities in this city depends in great part on the attitudes expressed by the city's elected leadership. If the executives of the poverty program misrepresent and distort those attitudes, they should be enlightened. By their words, they dig more deeply the trench of despair in which the poor now find themselves.

Yours very truly,

Citizens' Housing and Planning Council

By ______________________

Economic Development Council of N.Y.C. Inc.

By Paul Busse

New York Board of Trade

By Neil H. Anderson

Downtown Lower Manhattan Association, Inc.

By ______________________

Teamsters Joint Council No. 16

By Nicholas W. Kisburg

Commerce & Industry Association of New York, Inc.

By Ralph C. Gross

A. Philip Randolph Institute

By A. Philip Randolph

June 24, 1970

The Reverend Martin Luther King
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

Dear Friend and Brother:

Mr. Joseph Lyford, president of The Fund for Peace, has asked that I write you. Mr. Lyford has informed me that he is asking you to sign an appeal letter for the Peace Fellowship Program of the Fund.

This program, which I heartily endorse, provides funds for gifted young graduate students involved in education and research for peace and world order. As we all know, the financial support for education provided by government is almost exclusively earmarked for defense purposes. Governmental support for peace education is almost nonexistent.

Through their Peace Fellowship Program, The Fund for Peace is enabling outstanding university students to make a positive contribution to achieving a nonviolent world with justice and opportunity for all people. I believe the creative efforts of this organization make it worthy of the support of concerned people throughout the country.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
WASHINGTON BUREAU
CONGRESSIONAL BUILDING
422 FIRST STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

202-544-5694

April 23, 1970

Mr. A. Philip Randolph
260 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Randolph:

It was heartwarming to get your message about the defeat of the Carswell nomination. Seldom have Iseen such evidence of the national sense of concern on an important issue as was shown during the weeks that preceeded the vote.

Judge Carswell's announcement on April 20, 1970, that he will run for the United States Senate provides an interesting footnote on his racial views. Apparently he is now in a political alliance with Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr., who has carried defiance of court decisions on school desegregation to the brink of armed confrontation with the Federal Government.

Attached is an excerpt from a letter that I sent to Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst on the nomination of Judge Harry A. Blackmun. All reports on Judge Blackmun seem very favorable.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence

Clarence Mitchell
Director
Washington Bureau

CMM:ewh
Attachment

P.S. We are working against the move to impeach Mr. Justice Douglas.

EXCERPTS OF LETTER FROM CLARENCE MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF THE WASHINGTON BUREAU, NAACP
TO DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL RICHARD G. KLEINDIENST
DATED APRIL 21, 1970

"It is my opinion that embarrassment to both the nominee and to the President is less likely to occur if the scope of inquiry is broadened to include responsible persons who represent a cross section of professional, racial, religious, economic and community life in our country. In this connection, I am happy to say that I learned from my good friend, Cecil E. Newman, publisher of the Minneapolis Spokesman and St. Paul Recorder, that a representative of the FBI interviewed him on Judge Blackmun before the nomination was announced. Mr. Newman was not told what post Judge Blackmun was being considered for. I understand that his comments on the jurist were favorable. During a speech that I gave in St. Paul at the Hilton Hotel on April 18, I publicly commended the FBI for this action. I also expressed the hope that this type of inquiry would be made on all nominations.

"Because I believe that a person in my position has a duty to seek facts and to share them with the appropriate officials in matters of this kind, I am also pleased to tell you that I talked with a lawyer in Arkansas who has argued many civil rights cases before Judge Blackmun. He said, "Judge Blackmun has at all times been courteous to me and my co-counsel when we appeared in his court." The same lawyer also commended Judge Blackmun for his fairness.

"Let us hope that when all the facts are in, Judge Blackmun will be seen as a fine example of the kind of person who will be a credit to the Supreme Court and an inspiration to those who rely on law and orderly process for the redress of wrongs."

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

September 25, 1970

New York Times Magazine
229 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

To The Editor:

Tom Buckley's article, "Whitney Young: Black Leader or 'Oreo Cookie,'" (THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, September 20, 1970), was not only a personal insult to Whitney Young but also an affront to all black leaders. What constituted the affront was not so much what Buckley said about Young (though we take issue with a great deal of it) as the way he said it. The article was infused with a tone of flippancy and patronization. When such an attitude is applied to a respected black leader who is doing work that is so vital to the process of social change in our troubled nation, it can only elicit resentment.

The title of the article is indicative of its general tone and quality--clever at the expense of being analytical; demeaning, facile, and cliched. What is most insulting about the article is that it is inconceivable that Buckley would have written the same way about a white man. Thus Young, a talented sociologist and an effective leader, is not even granted credit for his own accomplishments. According to Buckley, Young was discovered, trained, and made by wealthy whites, as if he were an object of partrician largesse and not a competent and successful individual in his own right.

Buckley seems unable to believe that blacks can act independently: they are always "shuffling for the Man." Thus, Young went to Vietnam not because it was necessary that a responsible black leader appraise the military and racial situation there, but because he was paying off President Johnson for his accomplishments in the field of civil rights. Buckley's use of language is significant in this context. Black leaders, he writes, had incurred political debts to Johnson "the size of payments on a Harlem Cadillac." What in heaven's name is "a Harlem Cadillac?" It is not a car, Mr. Buckley, but a racial slur.

While Buckley devotes ample space to personal attacks, his article is lean on political analysis. Personal facts about Young's life (where he vacations, etc.) are given great political significance when, in fact, they are politically irrelevant and a preoccupation with them can only obscure more important issues. Given this failure to undertake serious political analysis, it is surprising that Buckley appoints himself the judge of who is or is not a black leader. Evidently, Young does not fit Buckley's standards, yet every survey of black opinion that we have seen ranks him as one of the most prominent black leaders in America.

Buckley's attitude is typical of all too many whites who are trying to be "with it." In order to be where the action is, or where they think it is, they have to put down the responsible black leadership. It's all of a piece with what Tom Wolfe has called "radical chic." While this phenomenon is not significant in itself--it is simply an indulgent diversion for the elite--it does have the effect of undermining the leadership of serious people who are engaged in the daily and undramatic struggle for social justice. It is in this sense that Buckley's article is not simply intellectually weak but politically harmful as well, and we are shocked and bewildered that a TIMES reporter would write such an article, and that THE TIMES would print it.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
President
A. Philip Randolph Institute

(con't)

Kenneth B. Clark

Kenneth Clark
President
Metropolitan Applied
Research Center, Inc.

James Dumpson

James Dumpson, Dean
School Social Work
Fordham University

Arthur Logan

Arthur Logan
Member of the Board, NAACP
Legal Aid & Defense Fund

Jackie Robinson

Jackie Robinson
Chairman of the Board
Freedom National Bank

Percy Sutton

Percy Sutton
Borough President
of Manhattan

KC
JD
AL
JR
PS:ej

Letter formulated by B. Rustin.

THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

BASIL A. PATERSON
27TH DISTRICT

SUITE 201
315 W. 125TH ST.
NEW YORK 10027

26 Mai '70

Attached, for your approval, is a draft of the letter being sent to potential contributors for Basil A. Paterson

June 1970

Dear

We are serving as co-chairman of the Citizens for Paterson Committee, and we feel it is critically important at this time that Senator Basil A. Paterson's candidacy for Lieutenant Governor receives the broadest support.

Basil Paterson had led the legislative efforts in Albany for the peace movement (Senate sponsor of the Stein Bill); for change in the antiquated New York State divorce law. He sponsored the bill for abortion repeal, and he has been deeply involved with the efforts to achieve quality education. He has been an effective recognized leader in every progressive cause during his 5 years in the State Senate.

There are three weeks left to continue our forceful campaign to insure Senator Basil Paterson's victory on Primary Day, June 23rd. We need funds to purchase radio-TV and newspaper advertising. Your contribution today is essential to keep this liberal public servant in New York State government.

We would also like to have your permission to use your name on Senator Paterson's campaign letterhead. Please return the enclosed card with your contribution, and also indicate whether we can include your name on our letterhead.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph   Mrs. James L. Watson   Theodore L. Kheel

Primary Day - June 23   3 - 10 P.M.

Citizens Committee to Elect
Basil Paterson
Lieutenant Governor

Dear Mr.____________________

We are serving as co-chairmen of the Citizens for Paterson Committee, and feel it is critically important at this time that Democratic Senator Basil A. Paterson's candidacy for Lieutenant Governor receives the broadest support so that his campaign can be brought to the people in the fullest and most effective manner.

We hope you will share this desire and will want to participate in the effort being made on Senator Paterson's behalf.
As you know, if the Senator is to continue the independence and dynamism that have characterized his political career, and still be able to carry on the forceful campaign needed to assure his victory, he will need financial support. We are calling on all citizens interested in the kind of dynamic public service that Basil Paterson represents to make known their support through substantial contributions.

We would also like to have permission to use the names of Senator Paterson's supporters on the letterhead of the committee. Please return the enclosed card with your contribution, and also indicate whether we can include your name on our letterhead.

Sincerely,

A. Philip Randolph
Mrs. Theodore L. Kheel
Mrs. James L. Watson

PRIMARY DAY - June 23

935-9150
Douglas Pugh

Citizens Committee to elect
Basil Paterson
Lieutenant Governor

June 8, 1970

The Hon. Basil A. Paterson
315 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Senator Paterson:

I want to thank you for sending me a copy of the letter to be sent to potential contributors and signed by supporters of your candidacy for Lieutenant Governor of New York State.

May I say that I am happy to serve as one of your sponsors because of the distinguished record you have made in the New York State Legislature as a Senator of all the people, black and white.

I wish you success and victory.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THE LEGIBILITY OF THE DOCUMENT IS DIFFICULT IN THE ORIGINAL

January 26, 1970
1232 Beech St.
1 Waterloo, Iowa
50703

To: A. Philip,

How to begin this letter, I find quite a task. For many years I have said I would make it a point to contact you.

To be to the point we, some few years ago found that you are a cousin to us on my Fathers side. We are relatives to the Boykins in Florida - (Relatives in N. or S. Carolina whom we've never ~~contacted~~ seen.) Uncle George Boykin + Family did visit with us some few years ago and his daughter in Kansas City usually

Comes up every year - Peachie Lee Boykin Nolan. She said she had met + visited with you sometime ago, at which time I said I, too, would like to make some contact with you since my Father and his Sister had not. I'm not sure of the exact relationship - I would have to have my Father explain that all over again. His Father + you Mother or G'mother. My Mother, Father live in Marshalltown, Iowa (60 miles from here) and as you can see I live in Waterloo, Ia. Dad is retired from 34 yrs of Swift + Company + taking life easy. However I have 2 sons (ages 5 + 10) so they spend much of their time checking on us. My husband is employed at John Deere Tractor Works.

We just built a new home this past year so we have been quite busy up to the present time. I have a brother, married with 3 children in Minneapolis.

This is quite brief and I guess you say you have many Cousins floating around - but it has always been my intentions to contact you one way or another. My Aunt + husband are supposed to visit our Cousins in the Carolinas sometime this year - whom we have never seen.

I know it will be forever before we get out East, so if you find time on your busy schedule we would love to have you visit with us in Iowa. My Father spoke of you often & always thought of it as being a great pleasure to meet you. I do hope you will at least write and let us know of your being & perhaps you could sneak in a little surprise visit to Waterloo, Iowa

(over)

P.S. I would like for you to return these photos - they are the only ones I have of family at the present.

I will be looking forward to hearing from you After these many years & Wanting to, and to prove to my Father that you may recognize a few more of your distant relatives (Smiles)

Thank you so much for atleast hearing my story

I remain,

Mrs Aaron Roberts
(Sah)

1232 Beech St
Waterloo, Iowa
50703

Phone #
232-4201

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U.S. POSTAGE 6 CENTS

WATERLOO
JAN 26
PM
1970
IO

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260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH - 6th FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
PARK AVENUE SOUTH - 6th FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

Advise your correspondents or
publishers of your correct
mailing address.

A. Philip Randolph
~~[illegible]~~
New York City,
New York

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
260 PARK AVENUE SOUTH - 6th FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010

Mrs Aaron Roberts.
1232 Beech Street
Waterloo Iowa
50703

N.Y.
1970

February 13, 1970

Mrs. Aaron Roberts
1232 Beech Street
Waterloo, Iowa 50703

Dear Mrs. Roberts:

I want to thank you for your letter of January 26 suggesting that we may be related. You certainly have a lovely family group and I am greatly flattered to be considered by you as possibly being related.

All of the immediate members of my family have passed away. I have a few cousins who reside in Florida and New Jersey. I don't recall my father or mother speaking of our family having relatives by the name of Boykin.

While I had constant contact with my mother's relatives, I had little contact with the members of my father's family, although the majority of both families were supposed to be natives of Florida. I recall my father speaking of some members of his family who were in Virginia, but none of them ever visited us nor we them.

I want to express my great appreciation for your invitation to visit you and your family in the event I journey your way. I have now reached an advanced age and I am not getting about very much, not only because of age but also because of health reasons.

I am returning the photographs of your handsome and beautiful family. I can't imagine anyone who would not be proud to claim relationship with a family as attractive as yours.

With cordial good wishes, I am

Very sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph Institute

260 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10010
(212) 533-8000

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Rachelle Horowitz
Administrative Secretary

Emma Thomas
Office Manager

February 18, 1970

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am writing to invite you and your membership to a showing of a very important film -- a full length feature about the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The film traces Dr. King's life from the early days of the civil rights struggle to his fight for trade union justice in Memphis. The bus boycott in Montgomery, the March on Washington, the demonstrations in Birmingham and Selma-- these events are now part of our common history. There is also Dr. King's unsung but enduring commitment to the struggle of workingmen: he marched with hospital workers and teachers in New York City; he picketed with Scripto Workers in Atlanta, with farm workers in Delano, and in his final act, with sanitation workers in Memphis.

The movie will be shown at the Trans-Lux Theater, 85th and Madison on the evening of Tuesday, March 24th. Tickets are $5.00. Checks may be made payable to the Martin Luther King, Jr. Special Fund and sent to Mrs. Arthur C. Logan, 121 West 88th Street. (Please do not make checks payable to the Institute.)

I look forward to seeing you at this important event.

Sincerely and fraternally,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph
President

APR/ej

[May 1970]

western union **Telegram**

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MR A PHILLIP RANDOLPHI 260 PARK AVE SOUTH NYK

URGENT. REQUEST PRESENCE OF ALL PROMINENT LEADERS, NATIONAL AND LOCAL, TO JOIN DR. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY AT PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH WILL BE HELD ON FORT VALLEY STATE CAMPUST IN FOR VALLEY, GEORGIA ON WEDNESDAY, MAY 20TH, 10:00AM. THE MARCH WHICH COMMENCES IN PERRY, GEORGIA ON TUESDAY, MAY 19TH, WILL PROCEED THROUGH FORT VALLEY, MACON, FORSYTH AND GRIFFIN AND CULMINATE IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA ON SATURDAY, MAY 23RD. MACON EOGIA IS NEAREHA GORT TO FORT GALLEY. TRANSPORTATION WILL BE PROVIDED FROM ATLANTA TOFORT VALLEY AND FROM MACON TO FORT VALLEY. APPROPRIATE SECURITY MEASURES WILL BE ARRANGED. PURPOSE OF PRESS CONFERENCE IS TO PROTEST RECENT MURDERINGS, BRUTALITY AND BASIC REPRESSION NY NATIONAL GUARD, STATE TROOPERS AND POLICEMENV; FUTHER TO PLEDGE TOTAL SUPPORT FOR CULMINATING MARCH ON SATURDAY, MARCH 23RD,

SF-1201 (R5-69)

western union **Telegram**

IN ATLANTA ON THE STATE CAPITOL. PLEASE CONFIRM PLANS TO ATTEND AND ARRIVAL TIME IN MACON OR ATLANTABY CALLING (404) 688-2633, AND ARRIVAL TIME. PLEASE SEND ALL CONTRIBUTIONNS TO CITIZENSTRUST COMPANY, 75 PIEDMONT AVENUE N.E. TO TE ACCOUNT C.A.R. (COALITION AGAINST REPRESSION).

HOSEA L WILLIAMS REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENT OF SCLC RICHARD LYLES ASSISTANT SOUTHERN DIRERTOR OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE.

20 10:00 19 23 23 4046882633 75.